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TOWARDS ONE NIGERIA

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## PREFACE

This is the third in a series of publications providing detailed analysis and enlightened opinion on the latest developments in the current effort of the Federal Military Government to preserve the political unity and territorial integrity of Nigeria.

Since the Federal Military Government took up Ojukwu's ill-advised challenge to a military confrontation, the Federal forces have made steady progress towards Enugu, the rebel capital, and the conflict has taken a number of dramatic turns and assumed new dimensions. The Federal troops have quickly demonstrated their superiority over Ojukwu's rabble army by capturing town after town in the rebel-held areas, including the important University town of Nsukka and Bonny at the entrance to the oil-port of Port Harcourt.

The rebels, in panic, have resorted to a number of desperate actions. These include the callous bombing of civilian centres, especially defenceless villages in the North and the capital city of Lagos. And to crown their perfidy Ojukwu and his clique instigated their fellow Ibo army officers in the Mid-West State to stage a treacherous coup which allowed the rebels to infiltrate into the state. All these have forced the Federal Government to upgrade the operation from a mere police action to a full scale war against the rebel clique.

The situation has been further complicated by the not-too-subtle intervention of certain Western powers in a conflict which is strictly an internal affair of Nigeria. These countries have tried to put obstacles in the way of the Federal Military Government while providing necessary facilities for the rebels to procure sophisticated weapons. In addition, the Western Press and Radio have confused the issues involved and, wittingly or unwittingly, aided the rebels by their biased reporting and comments on the crisis facing Nigeria.

All these have aroused emotions and provoked extensive discussion among Nigerians of all works of life. Their feelings on these latest developments in the Nigerian crisis are accurately reflected in these

talks which were originally broadcast over the network of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation. The News Talks were written by university lecturers, lawyers, journalists and other leaders of opinion from all over Nigeria.

Federal Ministry of Information,  
Independence House,  
Lagos.  
September, 1967.

## THE OTHER ENEMIES OF NIGERIA

By

*John Igbozue*

A friend in need is a friend indeed. A more suitable adage can hardly be found for measuring the depth of the perfidy of some of Nigeria's so-called friends in the current situation.

Foremost on the list of those who want Nigeria divided is the Nnewi clique led by Ojukwu. It is clear that without a group of misguided fellow-travellers encouraging him, the rebel leader alone could not have single-handedly embarked upon his hopeless gamble. Prominent among these fifth-columnists are the fugitives from justice. These men are afraid to come to Lagos and account for their stewardship during the last civilian government. And in Ojukwu's Biafra they have found a haven and an opportunity for a future as despicable as their past. But justice will soon catch up with them. So much for these internal enemies of Nigeria.

However, if certain external forces had not continued to aid and abet the Enugu rebels, the current crisis might not have assumed its present proportion. While the friends of Nigeria are standing up to be counted daily, it is necessary to pinpoint the secret enemies for the people to know.

While it is usually believed that old friends are better than new, a tragic irony has developed from the present situation in Nigeria. Some of the old friends of Nigeria are not only deserting and playing the double game, others have even jumped on the badwagon of our identified enemies in Enugu.

High on the list of such external enemies of Nigeria are some commercial bodies, a number of which are within our gates. They were allowed to exploit the natural and other resources of the land for their benefit and that of all the people of Nigeria; but now that they sense a rift in the nation, they are prepared to exploit it for their sole benefit.

They believe that a house divided against itself will fall; Nigeria, on the other hand, continued to show the will to remain united. This

roused their anger and these enemies of Nigerian progress and strength resorted to precipitate action. They think they are so economically entrenched within our gates that they can force our hands against our will.

Like their new-found god in Enugu, these enemies of a strong Nigerian economy have adopted some dirty tricks lately. Now they plead duress for their abuse of trust. But their precipitate move to pay royalties to Ojukwu and his gang was deliberate, and premature by at least 21 days. There has not been a scrap of evidence, physical or otherwise, of their having been forced to take such a step. Therefore, their reasons, if any, are weak, untenable and unfounded; they have failed to prove their case. Nigeria, however, knows how the minds of these economic exploiters are working. These enemies are resolved to deal with a weak and heavily indebted illegal regime in Enugu because they are afraid of the great potential of a strong Nigeria with a highly diversified economy.

Now that these economic conspirators have exposed their dishonesty and breach of trust themselves, they should not blame anyone for whatever comes next. Of course, now that they have unilaterally abrogated their agreement with Nigeria they will have no alternative but to operate within the ambit of laws autonomously determined by Nigeria. We promise them that the genius of Nigeria and the will of the people will outwit every subterfuge they devise in future. So much for the economic marauders with whom the Enugu rebels are now in league to pillage the land of their birth.

Gradually, African nations have come to realize that where international economic conspiracy emerges, diplomatic intimidation follows. This pattern is repeating itself in the Nigeria crisis. But conscious of Nigeria's tremendous influence in Africa and her world-wide goodwill, these diplomatic gangsters are afraid to confront the country with their customary threats. Prominent among these diplomatic blackmailers are some Western Powers. They have been hiding behind the cloak of non-intervention while trying to use some African states to do their dirty work for them. As the Spanish Civil War of barely a generation ago has shown, 'non-intervention' is a policy of helping rebels and traitors against their fatherland.

Nigeria regards it as the height of hypocrisy to recognize a government as the legal authority in a territory and deny it assistance to assert that authority. If it is not aggression, it is more than subversion to use third powers to supply lethal weapons to the Enugu rebels.

These self-proclaimed 'friends' of Nigeria and lovers of Africa have been unmasked at this hour of our dire need. Any African state that allows itself to be used as tools will only be promoting its own future disintegration. This is the lesson that the rest of Black Africa must learn.

As for our friends who have chosen to decamp by word or action, they will have only themselves to blame for the destruction of our traditional friendship. They have undermined Nigeria's faith in them.

Fortunately, the vast majority of the international community still stand by Nigeria in this hour of crisis. And surprisingly enough, at the front rank of these friends are those countries that Nigeria had in the past been advised to regard as enemies. But, at least, Nigeria knows her real friends, and the enemies of an economically strong and politically united Nigeria who have been posing as friends can be identified.

As a result of this discovery, self-interest demands that we deal seriously with our other enemies after crushing the Enugu rebels.

# OPERATIONAL CODE OF CONDUCT FOR THE NIGERIAN ARMED FORCES

*By*

*John Kumolu*

Successful military campaigns do not rest only on the forceful occupation of the territory of your opponent. The manner in which the operation is conducted will also affect the victor's stand with the local population.

When Napoleon Bonaparte's Liberation Army freed Europe from the clutches of despotic rulers a few centuries ago they were warmly received everywhere. But as soon as these same troops misbehaved themselves in these occupied territories they fired the spirit of revolt in the common people. The war against Napoleon by those different countries in the continent resulted in the creation of the modern European nation States.

Though the current war in Nigeria has become inevitable, the Federal Government on its part is resolved to see that it is humanely and justly conducted. Obviously, the government is determined to see that much of normal life is preserved in the Eastern States at the completion of this task. Efforts are being made to reduce any disruption that might result to the barest minimum.

This is necessary for many reasons foremost among which is the fact that the operation is against a band of misguided Nigerians and not against an enemy country. Moreover, if much destruction is perpetrated on the Eastern States, the burden of reconstruction would be too hard for the ordinary people to bear along with what they had been enduring under Ojukwu's dictatorship.

Every Federal soldier carries with him now on the battle field an operational code of conduct. This is a clear documentary evidence of the Federal Government's determination to see that its soldiers confine themselves only to those activities that are necessary to the successful completion of their job. The Code, personally signed by the Commander-

in-Chief, Major-General Gowon, himself, specifically directs every officer and soldier of the Nigerian Armed Forces to observe the following rules:

- (i) under no circumstances must pregnant women be ill-treated or killed;
- (ii) children must not be molested or killed. They will be protected and cared for;
- (iii) youths and school children must not be attacked unless they are engaged in open hostility against Federal Government Forces. They should be given all protection and care;
- (iv) hospitals, hospital staff and patients should not be tampered with or molested;
- (v) soldiers who surrender will not be killed. They are to be disarmed and treated as prisoners of war. They are entitled in all circumstances to humane treatment and respect for their person and honour;
- (vi) no property, building, etc. will be destroyed maliciously;
- (vii) churches and mosques must not be desecrated;
- (viii) no looting of any kind; a good soldier never loots;
- (ix) women will be protected against any attack on their person, honour and in particular against rape or any form of indecent assault;
- (x) male civilians who are hostile to the Federal forces are to be dealt with firmly but fairly. They must be humanely treated.
- (xi) all military and civilians wounded will be given necessary medical attention and care. They must be respected and protected in all circumstances and;
- (xii) foreign nationals on legitimate business will not be molested but mercenaries will not be spared; they are the worst enemies.

It is clear that the Commander-in-Chief and his advisers consider their present task as a call to duty. This is true, because there can be no higher call to duty than to defend the integrity of the fatherland. Practically every great nation in the world today has fought the type of war Nigerians are currently engaged in. And in all these countries and everywhere else, there is hardly a crime greater than for a gang of misguided citizens to take up arms against their country.

A salient section of the code orders the Federal soldiers to fight a clean and honourable fight in defence of the territorial integrity of the

nation. While the code primarily reminds them of the Geneva Convention governing the conduct of war, it has however added a unique dimension to the national campaign to preserve Nigeria's integrity. It is an indelible mark portraying the humanity and tolerance of Nigerians in general. This tolerance must however not extend to the mercenaries of Ojukwu. They are the worst enemies of Nigeria and Nigerians.

It is becoming a phenomenon of internal and international politics in Africa that at the slightest sign of revolt these mercenaries always troop in. They do a great disservice to mankind. For once, these ruffians and misfits of the world society should be taught a final and lasting lesson in Nigeria. They should not be spared. These soldiers of fortune have made a mistake this time to have come to Nigeria, and every captured mercenary must be taught that Africa is the last place to come and do their dirty work in order to earn their bloody money.

For once, these paid killers of Africans will be facing a crack and disciplined army in the Federal troops. Nigeria will make sure that they do not return to Africa.

## THE REAL ENEMY OF THE EAST-CENTRAL STATE

By

*Abimbola Williams*

It is unfortunate that the current police action against Ojukwu and his gang has resulted in the loss of lives of a few thousand Nigerians. In any event, more brutal wars have been fought for causes and ideologies less worthy than the territorial integrity of a whole nation.

It is necessary to remind critics of the present operation that treasonable armed rebellion had never been part of Nigerian history. This is why the whole of the country is behind the Federal Government in the present effort to contain it. Up till the last moment when Ojukwu took the fateful plunge and declared his illegal secession, every avenue for negotiation was still open to him. Yet, he refused to negotiate except on his own terms.

The rebellion of the Nnewi clique was premeditated and executed despite all advice to the contrary. In order to carry the people of the East-Central State along with them, Ojukwu and his gang mounted one of the most vicious propaganda campaigns ever witnessed in Black Africa. Their aim was to give the impression that every Nigerian in the East-Central State was behind them.

But it is clear from the manner in which the Federal Government is conducting the police action that the war is being waged neither against every Nigerian in the East-Central State nor against the Ibos as a people. This fact was strongly emphasized by the Commander-in-Chief, Major-General Yakubu Gowon, when he met the World Press at his Dodan Barracks residence on the 12th July, 1967.

'Anti-Ibo feelings and riots stand to be condemned,' the Commander-in-Chief reiterated.

'And I used all the law-enforcement agencies to stop such demonstrations, and in fact, to protect the Ibos.'

General Gowon expressed the belief that once Ojukwu and his

henchmen were captured, all Nigerians, including the Ibos, would come together again to work on the job of reconstruction. He also affirmed to the Pressmen that with the end of Ojukwu there would be no need for further suffering in the Eastern States.

The transparent honesty and sincerity in General Gowon's statement were beyond doubt. At this stage, it is pertinent to ask: who love the Ibos more, Ojukwu and his rebels or their other fellow Nigerians as represented by the Federal Military Government?

The Federal Government has repeatedly proclaimed its belief in one Nigeria whereas the rebels would prefer its disintegration. In spite of Ojukwu's evil leadership the rest of Nigeria has continued to accommodate the Ibo people. And while the Federal Government has gone as far as protecting the indigenes of the East-Central State, the rebel gang have been using the same people as fodders for their insatiable ambition.

It is on record that the Nigeria Police usually followed the Federal liberating forces into captured areas to maintain law and order. But what is Ojukwu's plan for his people? He is prepared to use even the last Iboman in order to satisfy his inordinate obsession. While members of the rebel gang are under heavy guard in their bunkers in Enugu, teenaged children barely weaned from their mothers' breasts are being sent to the battle field. The blood of these young Nigerians will forever be on the heads of Ojukwu and his gang.

The rebels based their military strength on the 3,000 regular members of the Nigerian Army recalled to Enugu. But most of these are tradesmen. To swell their illegal army the secessionists then resorted not only to indiscriminate recruitment but forceful conscription of youngsters. Teenaged members of the rebel army captured on the battle field have confessed that they were not only coerced to take arms against their country but members of their family who refused were either victimized or killed. For a clique that has made so much noise about pogrom and massacre, this is a greater crime for which they must not be pardoned. The rebel leader and his men have inconsiderately sacrificed the lives of these raw, impressionable kids for nothing but the dreams of a hopeless ambition.

The arch-secessionist has publicly declared his hatred for Nigeria. But neither has he shown any love for his people. Daily, records of his crimes mount. He progressed from gangsterism to piracy; from piracy, he has now graduated to genocide against the people he professed to love. His rebellion still stands as treason, and Ojukwu is obviously the

greatest enemy of the Ibo people. While the Federal Government has persisted in its effort to save the rest of Nigeria and the Ibo people from his evil machinations, he continues to use them as his ambition dictates.

## THE REBEL FORCES

By

*Oladimeji Adekunle*

It should be interesting to hear what the rebel leader Odumegwu-Ojukwu has to say after two weeks of his total war on the rest of Nigeria. Ojukwu had said before this conflict began that 'if Gowon should make the mistake of crossing into our territory even by a few yards, we shall immediately go into an open, outright and total war against Nigeria. Our conduct of the war will not be confined to our territorial boundaries.' But in spite of his boast that he would carry the way into the rest of Nigeria, the World knows that within six days of the fight, his army was reeling and Ogoja and several other towns have been liberated.

The other day, the Enugu rebels claimed that they have an Air Force which had been active in harassing the positions of the Nigerian Army. However, we now know that the so-called Air Force consists of a single obsolete aircraft. The Americans who manufactured it ages ago revealed the secret in their attempt to refute allegations that they were aiding the rebels. The exact words of the Americans were 'that the B-26 aircraft said to be operating in the former Eastern Region of Nigeria formerly belonged to the French Air Force which sold it as surplus.

'Although the aircraft bears an American registration number, it was never issued a certificate of airworthiness from any U.S. source, hence such registration is not valid.

'The history of the aircraft indicates that in June it was flown from Ostend, Belgium, by a Belgian pilot to Lisbon, Portugal, where it was reputedly sold to a French citizen. With an illegal registration number and without an airworthiness certificate, the aircraft subsequently was flown by a French crew from Lisbon to Dakar to Abidjan, and then to Enugu.'

In other words not only is the B-26 being illegally operated, but the crew, perhaps without knowledge of the facts, are putting a hang man's noose around their necks each time they take off in that derelict aircraft. Fortunately, after its first hapless efforts over Makurdi the aircraft has

been grounded in Enugu because another attempt would definitely mark its end.

Not only were the rebels boasting about a non-existent Air Force, they also made one Lieutenant-Commander Anuku head of a non-existent Navy. After some fruitless effort to buy one or two second-hand frigates, the rebels are left with the smallest of the Nigerian Navy ships the N.N.S. Ibadan which was moored in Calabar at the end of May. The N.N.S. Ibadan, of course, is designed primarily for anti-smuggling operations and that is why it has not been able to challenge the Naval blockade of Port Harcourt, Bonny and Calabar.

Those who doubted the effectiveness of the Nigerian Naval patrol can now eat their words in view of the two prizes recently taken at sea by our Navy. In any case, the 'Ibadan' cannot put out to sea because Lt. Commander Anuku himself is still nursing injuries which he sustained in a crash while returning to Calabar by helicopter from Enugu.

In order to sustain his rebellion, it is clear that Ojukwu was relying entirely on ground forces. And how effective is his ground force? His area command was set up with three thousand regular soldiers who fled to Enugu from other parts of the country towards the end of last year. Most of them were tradesmen and so to enlarge the number of the riflemen there was conscription of men and children into the army. They were rushed through two weeks of training exercise and sent out on guard duties.

Before the Niger Bridge was closed, Nigerians saw the kind of soldiers they were. Those stationed at the Onitsha end of the bridge spent half of their time in negotiating bribes and sharing the wealth of itinerant traders. Surely, these are not the men to face the seasoned infantrymen of the Federal Forces, men who have distinguished themselves in real action and are heroes of the Burma campaign. They are not the arm-chair rifle men or mercenaries whose only field experience is of mock exercises.

It is indeed criminal wickedness for the rebel leaders to send such helpless men to face certain destruction. The heartlessness of the rebels is shown more clearly by their outrageous act of forcing teenagers to fight in a war the causes of which they cannot understand.

While Ojukwu and his clique want to sacrifice the interests of every other person in order to satisfy their lust for power, the Federal Military Government wants to crush the rebellion in order to preserve Nigeria as a strong united country in which the cultural, traditional, political and religious interests of the entire people of Nigeria are safeguarded.

As General Gowon has said, the present conflict has nothing to do with animosity against either an individual or group of people. It is aimed at ensuring for all Nigerians whoever they are and whatever their status a rightful place in the scheme of things. It is a matter of time and the rebel forces shall be vanquished.

It is important therefore that the people of the East-Central State should not aggravate their present sufferings by fighting for the rebels whose only ambition is to impose permanent tyranny on innocent Nigerians.

As was stated in the note with which the Federal Forces forwarded to the Commander-in-Chief 'souvenirs' from the front, 'The rebels may call their shoulder flash the rising sun; we, call it the setting sun'.

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# THE FALL OF NSUKKA

By

*Edet Jackson*

Nsukka, the stronghold of Ojukwu's rebellion against Nigeria, has been smashed at last. It was necessary for more reasons than just the military one, that this battle should be fought.

Although the University of Nsukka was, to its founders, a symbol of the unity of Nigeria, in recent times, it has degenerated into a seat of disunity and a centre of rebellion. The deep-laid and pre-meditated plot against the integrity of Nigeria was hatched there. The philosophy of secession was formulated in the faculties of the University. Thus, instead of being a centre for the pursuit of truth, it became the hot bed of intrigues against the fatherland.

Students the world over and especially in the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, are known for their progressive and nationalist views. In Nsukka they were breeding a band of rabidly reactionary fascists whose vision of the greater world began and ended with the glorification of their tribe.

So determined were they to subject all ethnic groups living in the former Eastern Region to the domination of one group that they were prepared to intimidate and even spill the blood of their fellow students whose only crime was that as Ijaws, Ibibios and Efiks they saw no future for themselves in an Ibo-dominated republic outside of Nigeria.

The Professors were no better than the students. Elsewhere in the world, men of learning are known for their objectivity and their capacity to judge issues on their merit, but at Nsukka, a Nigerian Professor of Political Science screamed at a public meeting: 'Let us secede and damn the consequences.' I hope he was at the front to fight for his ideas.

The battle of Nsukka has revealed what many suspected all along—that, his boasts aside, Ojukwu's strategy could lead him nowhere. Grave weaknesses have been revealed in his weaponry as well as in the fighting quality of his troops, his military strategy was doomed from the beginning by its basic futility and fatal errors of conception.

From reliable information, Ojukwu was planning a prolonged defensive war. His aim was to establish a claim to international recognition by the long duration of his resistance. But like all his moves in the crisis, he entirely forgot or chose to ignore the counter moves which the Federal Government could make. However, there is not a single place in the East-Central State which cannot be attacked from more than one side. Besides, the effective blockade of the Eastern Coast by the Nigerian Navy makes it impossible for civilian and military supplies to be renewed. Soon, his wounded soldiers may be dying of gangrene for want of basic drugs. So much for the strategy of Ojukwu's total war of attrition.

What of his weapons? From the war material captured by the Federal troops so far, the rebel arsenal is a crazy assortment fit for a military museum. There are dud bullets the effective life of which expired in 1964. There are dane guns and British Enfield rifles at one end and modern Czechoslovakian and American machine guns and anti-armour weapons at the other.

The collection bears the stamp of war profiteers at work. The crooks of Europe and Enugu who negotiated the purchases must now be sitting pretty on fat bank accounts. But those from the East-Central State who have participated in this conspiracy to defraud innocent Ibos, must eventually be called to account for the blood of innocent youngsters whom they have sent to certain destruction with worthless weapons.

The rebel soldiers, ordered into battle inadequately trained and without a sound plan of campaign or weapons of consistently good quality, are now the poor innocent victims of Ojukwu's delusions of grandeur—the cannon-fodder of a would-be dictator.

Today, it is Nsukka, soon it will be Enugu and then the cancer of secession shall be excised. Purged of its errors, one hopes that the University of Nsukka when it is rebuilt will shed some of the outlandish notions which tended to make it the outsider among our institutions of higher learning.

## THE ASTONISHING REVELATION FROM WASHINGTON

*By*

*Olumide Thomas*

There is a soul of goodness in many evil things. Perhaps if the Nigerian crisis had not occurred the American State Department would not have revealed that it does not regard the new nations of Africa as truly independent yet.

The American Secretary of State, Mr Dean Rusk was reported to have described the Nigerian situation as the 'primary responsibility of Great Britain.' But for Senator Fulbright, who later leaked this diplomatic aberration to the World Press, Nigeria would not have realized that America still suffers from such pathetic delusions.

However, the world now knows the truth. The developing nations have been carved up by the big powers into areas over which they exercise perpetual suzerainty. Instruments of sovereignty legally document the freedom of these nations; but it is obvious that America and Britain still believe that such documents are worth only the paper on which they are written.

The hastened political retreat of the colonial powers from many African countries has for long been suspected as not being in the nature of imperialism. Each crisis in Africa however unfolds and makes clearer the evil designs of the imperialists on the continent as a whole. At least, Nigeria is learning a lesson which has for long been ignored or neglected.

A few years ago, Mr Douglas-Home, the former British Prime Minister told a joint meeting of the Nigerian Parliament that 'neo-colonialism does not exist.' He also described the phenomenon as meaningless. But those who coined the expression cannot be more accurate and the British ex-Prime Minister less informed. At least, Mr Dean Rusk has proved that he is better informed about the plans of the ex-Colonial Powers for the African countries.

In fact, the recent performances of America in the Congo (Kinshasa) can be construed as practical proof of the astonishing revelation from the State Department. The United States seems to regard the Democratic Republic of the Congo as lying within its sphere of influence. This must be why she hastily despatched transport planes and advisers to help in the fight against the current invasion by Belgian-financed mercenaries. Such hastily taken decisions in the State Department have been responsible for the military involvement of the United States everywhere in the world with its attendant threat of a World War III.

It took the State Department four weary days to issue a correct statement on the question of arms purchase by the Nigerian Government. Yet, this is an office reputedly equipped with policy-making computers and staffed with some of the best products of American education.

America arrogates to itself the role of the World's Policemen. Together with Britain and other Western Powers they claim that the future of mankind is safe in their hands. But their daily performances result in ever-increasing conflict which may yet lead to another world war.

Perhaps it is necessary to educate the Africa Division of the American State Department on Nigeria. Nigeria is a nation of more than 55 million people; she became a fully independent and sovereign state on 1st October, 1960, when Britain was compelled to relinquish all responsibility over this country.

If Britain, America and their fellow-travellers had not encouraged the Enugu rebels, it might not have been necessary for the Federal Government to take police action against the Enugu rebels. By taunting the Federal Government and Secretary aiding and abetting the secessionist rabbles in Enugu, Britain and America have, on their own, destroyed their image in Nigeria.

Nigerians will not sell their regained birthright for a mess of porridge. We shall yet have the last laugh over these conspirators and their unpatriotic Nigerian collaborators. Let them note that not only aid can again buy Nigeria's true friendship. The combined plot of the neo-colonialists against a strong and united Nigeria will surely fail.

## THE INHUMANITY OF THE REBEL HIGH COMMAND

*By*

*Muhammed Sanni*

Now that the rebel troops have fallen into disarray, lies are being invented daily in Enugu to explain the woeful failure of the secessionists. From their frantic efforts, it is obvious that Ojukwu and his gang are aware and afraid of the defeat that lurks around the corner. But they will not admit that their evil leadership has yielded no positive results since they began their campaign of hatred against their fatherland. In consonance with their negative approach, the rebels are now searching for scapegoats for their own military incompetence.

The course which the present adventure of the secessionists has taken has proved one fact as indisputable. The Enugu rabble must have mixed up their priorities from the outset. In spite of their book-learning, Ojukwu and his men have exhibited a disastrous lack of foresight. They now know that they have bitten more than they can chew. Earlier, they believed that high-powered propaganda would earn as much dividend as their empty boasts.

Available facts have shown that the Enugu rebels really launched a two-pronged attack against Nigeria. Firstly, Ojukwu and his fellow conspirators spent heavily on external world-wide campaign of calumny against their fatherland. Secondly, they used every other penny to stockpile all sorts of weapons in order to browbeat the rest of the country into submission or wage an all-out war of attrition. But the rebel gang and their messengers of hate have failed on both fronts. Nigeria's tremendous reservoir of goodwill has been able to withstand Ojukwu's evil propaganda abroad.

On the one hand, the events of the past two weeks have shown that the arms being used by the rebel army are too old to serve the needs of a modern Force. And on the other hand, the new American and Czechoslovak weapons purchased for the raw recruits of the Rebel

High Command have proved too sophisticated for them to master in the time available for training them. Hence they had to abandon these in their hasty retreat back to Enugu.

Within one week of assault, the rebels' carefully laid plan has gone hay-wire, and in its attempt to cover up failures, the Rebel High Command continues to make more blunders. The rebel soldiers were not only armed with ill-assorted weapons, their wounded are also known to be suffering from severe drug shortage. Ojukwu and his men know that these unpleasant facts are now beyond remedy. Yet they persist in sending untrained youngsters, mainly from the minority areas, to the battle front. This is to convince the world that their rebellion was a concerted action backed by the entire people of the three Eastern States. But most of these schoolboys were captured as prisoners of war by the crack Federal Forces.

However, other reports show that the inhumanity of the Rebel High Command is unlimited. Old men and hunters have been despatched to the front armed with ancient dane guns and pouches of gunpowder for ammunition to face trained soldiers armed with modern high-powered automatic weapons. Of course, the result is as any thoughtful person could have predicted, namely, a pitiful massacre which Enugu radio denials cannot conceal. Obviously, in a battle in which five field officers, normally in rear positions, have been killed very few ordinary soldiers could have escaped.

From these facts, it is clear that the appeal of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Major-General Yakubu Gowon, could not have been more timely. He has called on the officers of the Armed Forces and ordinary citizens of the three Eastern States to disown Ojukwu and his gang openly, in order to reduce the toll of disaster these evil conspirators have caused. To prevent them from heeding these appeals, stone-hearted Ojukwu has sworn to send every Iboman to the front. Who is now conducting a program against the Ibos?

The desperate act of sending teenagers and aged hunters to the war front have shown that the Rebel High Command actually relied more on propaganda and threats to win for it the very elusive recognition which it desires so much.

Now that the doomsday of the Enugu rebels is drawing near, they are running helter-skelter to fabricate excuses on which to blame their inevitable defeat.

The Federal Government must not allow any of the evil conspirators in Enugu to escape unpunished. Everyone of them must be made to

account publicly for his part in the armed criminal folly against his fatherland. None of the rebels deserves to be treated with mercy. They must all be punished for their inhuman crimes against their people and their country. Nigeria and Nigerians do not demand more or less justice.

## THE CRACKS IN THE REBEL FRONT

By

*John Kumolu*

A few days ago, a mysterious broadcast was made over the rebel radio in Enugu. Let us now consider the full implications of this revealing broadcast.

The spokesman described himself as the 'Public Relations Officer and Political Commissar' of the rebel army. In an unsuccessful attempt to veil the truth, the nameless fellow tried to minimize the full import of his disclosures.

The 'Commissar' clearly admitted that the 'Rebel High Command' is split into factions. He disclosed the existence of saboteurs among the top-most echelon of the secessionist army. But the statement, except for its strange language, did not reveal anything that is not already well known in well informed circles.

It has been clear for sometime now that there are three major factions in the 'Rebel High Command.' There are the secessionists led by Ojukwu himself. This group was bent upon destroying Nigeria from the word go.

Then, there are the revenge seekers typified by Col. Hilary Njoku who, it is said, hoped to regain the lost glory of the Ibos by unleashing a punitive war on Nigeria. He at least believed that his scheme could be carried out within the frame-work of a united Nigeria.

Finally, there are the anti-secessionists such as Col. Ogunewe who believe that Nigeria has seen enough bloodshed and that the Ibos should now find a way of living with all other Nigerians.

It is also well-known that the 'Revenge Seekers' championed by Col. Njoku wanted at least seventeen months in which to prepare their punitive expedition on the rest of Nigeria. But Ojukwu's secessionist wing was in a hurry. He declared war in less than a quarter of the time required by his military commanders.

The disastrous consequences of his precipitate moves now stare him in the face. But like other dictators in history, he is not courageous

enough to face the music. He now seeks to use Stalinist methods to liquidate his commanders in order to prevent them from telling him 'we told you so'.

However, the disclosures of the 'Commissar' clearly contradicted what the rebel's propaganda service had been broadcasting over the Enugu radio. It must have become clear to the conspirators that their lies that Federal troops have been routed could no longer be sustained.

Remnants of their Forces who fled back to Enugu must have started relating to everyone the failure of their disastrous adventure and the matchless strength of the Federal Forces.

But in his effort to cover up facts which the people have observed for themselves, Ojukwu's 'political Commissar' opened his mouth too wide. He made the astonishing announcement that the rebel leaders have also split into ideological factions. The 'Commissar' specifically mentioned the existence of revolutionary wing in the rebel army. This faction, the broadcast alleged, is in league with the working class of the three Eastern States. Ojukwu's 'Commissar' also threatened that the revolutionary wing and the masses would deal with the enemy.

If in addition to these quarrels about the objectives of their policy, the rebels are also ideologically divided, one may correctly conclude that the doom of Ojukwu's clique is finally sealed.

Dramatic postures aside, can Ojukwu truly claim to be a socialist or is he as usual merely playing with fire? His capitalist antecedent is too recent to need reviewing. His love of the cult of personality is well known. His bearded effigy dominates the caps of what should really be described as his private army which he maintains with public funds.

Truly, the rebel leader is a bundle of contradictions. The surprising thing is that his rebel clique had survived these internal contradictions for so long.

Now the cracks have opened up and in spite of sworn oaths and blood vows, the ill-assorted group is breaking up into the original splinter groups. There are the Ibo members of the rebel army who are themselves anti-Ojukwu. There are dissident officers from the other Eastern States whose fears were calmed with illegal promotions and rosy promises. Now that the gloom of defeat has cast a dark spell over their future they must avidly and rightly be planning to decamp.

At this stage, one may ask: What does the future hold for these strange bed-fellows? The answers are simple: Endless disagreement—the signs of which are now obvious; crushing and humiliating defeat—

the fore-taste of which they were given at Obolo, Obudu, Gakem, Ogoja and Nsukka.

Ojukwu's original tactics were to arouse Ibos by whipping up emotions and exaggerating facts. But the combination has not been able to withstand the counter-attacks of the Federal Government. Hence, the sudden resort to a so-called revolutionary propaganda.

It is now certain that the officers who might have voiced their dissension secretly or openly, will be liquidated. They are the supposed reactionaries who sabotaged the rebel army at the front. But he who rides on the tiger's back must ultimately end up inside. Every officer of the 'High Command', including Ojukwu himself, must now be asking the question: Whose head will roll first?

However, the citizens of the three Eastern States know whose head they should demand first. The weeks of defeat have eliminated Ojukwu's promise of a brighter tomorrow.

In fact, as the 'political commissar' himself admitted, the people jubilated on the arrival of the Federal Forces in their midst.

The chiefs and elders of Onitsha are reported to have also told their Provincial Administrator that they do not want anything to do with Ojukwu's war. But the Administrator instead of heeding the appeal, warned them not to tune to Radio Nigeria anymore but listen to the lying propaganda of the Enugu radio.

Ojukwu's home village, Nnewi, is about eleven miles from the outskirts of Onitsha. Though the elders of his province have disowned him and condemned his adventures, Ojukwu is too strong-headed to repent.

All the facts now show that the rebels end is however a matter of time.

## PUBLIC COLLECTION AND PRIVATE WEALTH IN THE EAST-CENTRAL STATE

*By*

*Abimbola Williams*

In their mad ambition for power, the Enugu rebels have adopted various devious tactics. Prominent among such tactics is their brutal and selfish exploitation of the masses' need for leadership during a time of stress.

The Ibo people have a reputation for self-help. They have demonstrated this in the past through the collections made to educate their sons at home and abroad. But in the early forties something went wrong when they started collecting money to help a particular political party.

This misguided sympathy is again being exploited by the rebel clique in their mad ambition to destroy Nigeria.

After October last year, a great deal of fuss was made about rehabilitation funds. Newspapers carried reports of thousands of pounds being collected from the people of the three Eastern States. The Federal Government, in spite of its difficulties, gave the East £400,000. But for the refusal of Ojukwu and his clique to disclose how the money was being spent, the Federal Government was ready to provide another £4,000,000 for distribution among the component parts of the Federation.

Shortly afterwards, the truth came to light as to how the rebel gang was making use of the rehabilitation fund. The people's money was being used for everything but the rehabilitation of displaced persons.

Ojukwu, the paramount leader, got for himself a luxury executive aircraft costing £400,000. State House, Enugu, was extravagantly furnished at £100,000. Special rest houses for Ojukwu alone were commissioned in almost all the important towns of the Eastern States. Prominent members of his clique were not left out of this bonanza.

Missions for the purchase of arms were sent all over Europe and the United States. We now know that obsolete weapons were bought at

heavily inflated prices with all-round cut-backs for the negotiators themselves. And now we hear that many of them have tripled the size of their swollen bank accounts in Switzerland.

So while the poor villagers of the three Eastern States squeezed themselves to pay their widows' mite for the rehabilitation of displaced persons, the perchants of death were pilling up new wealth for themselves. The only parallel one can find for this kind of cruelty is robbing a blind beggar on the street.

Soon, the slogan of rehabilitation was being suspected by the people as many displaced persons were seen swarming around Enugu doing nothing. But the Enugu rebels switched to another illegal collection and named it 'Civil Defence Fund'. And while the rebel army continues to lose every battle, the illegal radio in Enugu still broadcasts that the 'Civil Defence' contribution continues, even in already captured areas.

But it is well-known that as a result of lack of foreign exchange, which the Federal Government has blocked, the money being beaten out of the people by the rebel army cannot be spent outside Nigeria. The truth is that the rebels are collecting the money to await the day when at the end of the rebellion, Nigerian currency can once more be freely convertible.

By then, having escaped, as they hope, to hide-outs in Europe and elsewhere, they can use other people's hard-earned money to live comfortably in exile.

The earlier the citizens of the three Eastern States refuse to contribute further to these illegal collections the better for them. They should know that the money can no longer be used by the rebels to purchase arms outside anymore, nor even to provide the bare necessities of life which the common people now direly need. The people will therefore be well advised to save their money themselves rather than hand such over to the rebels.

The continuation of the illegal collection even at the height of economic and other sufferings is a demonstration of the heartlessness of the rebel gang.

But the tyranny of the secessionist regime will soon be crushed.

## LESSONS OF RECONSTRUCTION FROM OGOJA

*By*

*Patrick Obaiagbon*

After one week of victory on all fronts, the police action by the Federal Government against the secessionist regime in Enugu has assumed a new dimension. This is the reorganization and re-establishment of local administration in liberated areas.

In order to make their tyrannic rule felt in the other two Eastern States, the Enugu rebels deliberately reorganized the administration. Officers from the Rivers and South-Eastern States were posted to the Ibo areas, and trusted Ibos were sent as proconsuls to keep down the non-Ibos. On the other hand, those from the Rivers and South-Eastern States who were kept on show in Enugu were kept under constant surveillance and firmly denied access to the plans of the conspirators.

A similar plan was adopted in respect of the disposition of the troops of the rebel army. The so-called minority elements among the soldiers were confined to Enugu where they were disarmed until Ojukwu began his total war on Nigeria. A high proportion of these soldiers from the other two Eastern States were the first to be sent to the front under the Command of Ibo Officers. But Ibo soldiers and officers were deployed in the other two States to intimidate the people and conscript them into the 'Home-guard' at gun point. The Ibo army of occupation were also mandated to place everything on a war footing. They seized foodstuffs, other necessities of life and commandeered to serve their needs.

Many other atrocities were committed under the new military system of administration introduced by the rebels. Schools were shut and their buildings were converted into barracks. Hospitals had to curtail their services to the public and make new arrangements to suit the needs of the rebel forces. Churches also did not escape. They were converted into storehouse and hideouts for the rebels.

This massive disruption covered virtually all aspects of life as the

rebel army stormed through every village to make the people war-conscious.

In spite of this extensive disorganization of normal life perpetrated under the guise of preparing the people for an all-out war against their fatherland, one week of sustained assault by the Federal Forces saw Ojukwu's rabbles retreating everywhere.

But in the wake of their flight back to Enugu, this army of destruction resorted to a scorched-earth policy. Their objective was to make things difficult for the victorious Federal Forces of Liberation and the Nigerian policemen who accompanied them to restore and maintain law, order and security. They blew up the bridges. They burnt files in government offices and committed all sorts of havoc. In addition to these acts of wanton destruction, the Enugu rebels also left behind the extensive security problem created by their distribution of arms and ammunition to the local people while they were organizing their so-called Civil Defence.

However, the Federal Government was prepared for these exigencies. Plans have been made to restore normal life and re-establish civil administration in the liberated areas.

By openly welcoming the Federal Liberation Forces and the Nigeria Police, citizens of these areas, especially in the Liberated Ogoja Province, have made matters considerably easier for themselves and those of their fellow citizens who are being sent to help them. The people of Ogoja have proved that what they want more than anything else is liberation from Ibo domination. They have also shown that they have no animosity towards their fellow Nigerians.

The positive steps towards the reconstruction of Ogoja Province by the Federal Government and the South-Eastern States Authorities are commendable. They demonstrate that, in spite of secessionist campaigns of hatred and calumny, the Government, in fact, bears no animosity against any particular group of people except the rebels.

The main lesson which the Ibo should therefore learn from the reconstruction work being undertaken in Ogoja is that they should drop their instigated feud against their fellow countrymen and forget their inordinate ambition to dominate everyone.

It is clear that plans are afoot to accommodate them fully in the New Nigeria where justice, equality and fair play will form the guidelines of relations among the people. This should demonstrate to the sceptics that all Nigerians can be fully and satisfactorily accommodated in the framework of the New Nigeria.

## MERCENARIES AND COLLABORATORS

By

*Horatio Agedah*

At least four foreign nationals have been captured alive by the Federal troops in their present campaign to crush Ojukwu's rebellion. Several others have been killed in action.

Presumably, for diplomatic reasons, the Federal Military Government has not yet disclosed the national identity of the prisoners. But one significant fact is said to have emerged from preliminary interrogation of the captured men. Not all are mercenaries. Some of them are simply collaborating with the rebels.

To most people there is only a fine distinction between a mercenary and a collaborator. But in the context of human nature, there is much difference between the two species.

The mercenary is a foreigner who is hired to fight in a war in which he has no interest except the reward of money. He can fight for you today with the same eagerness as he had fought against you yesterday. His conduct is determined solely by financial consideration.

It is different with the collaborator. He may have a genuine feeling of sympathy for the cause he seeks to prosecute. For instance, in the current Nigerian situation, there are many foreign nationals who had lived in some parts of the country for many years. Such people may feel, rightly or wrongly, that their lives and fortunes are tied up with the fate of the area in which they live; there seems to be many foreign nationals in the three Eastern States who have become collaborators in this way. The collaboration may be by way of making gifts to the rebels, offering space for the preservation of rebel stores or providing maintenance facilities for the equipment of the rebels.

Ordinarily, there should be no cause for concern about these collaborators as they, like the mercenaries, would be dealt with in the normal way according to the merits of each individual case. Experience has shown that they are the usual source of foreign intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries. It has happened in Africa before.

When Moise Tshombe revolted against the Congolese Government and declared the secession of Katanga, a bloody conflict followed. The Belgian Government rushed air force planes to Stanleyville. The excuse of the Belgians on that occasion was that they had to go to Stanleyville in order to evacuate their nationals whose lives were in danger.

This is why Nigerians are becoming increasingly concerned about the continued presence of foreign nationals in the three Eastern States.

As soon as Ojukwu declared his rebellion on the 30th of May and the Head of the Federal Military Government, Major-General Gowon, announced his irrevocable determination to crush the rebellion, it was clear that there would be a fight. Everyone knew that the battle-ground would be the territory forcibly held by Ojukwu. Besides, the Federal Government gave notice to foreign diplomatic missions in Lagos to take steps to remove their nationals from the East. It seems that some countries were reluctant to take the Federal Government's advice.

This might be because of Ojukwu's boast that no power in Black Africa could subdue him and that any attempt to attack him would be suicidal, as well as the forecasts by the so-called experts on Nigerian affairs to the effect that owing to problems of logistics and topography an attack on Ojukwu would not succeed. They allowed their nationals to stay.

With the fall of Nsukka, there were no more doubts about the purpose of the Federal Government; so, the week-end after the fall, the voyage of the water vessel 'Isonzo' was quickly arranged. This boat brought to Lagos 850 foreigners of 23 nationalities. This number suggests that there is still a considerable number of foreigners who are reluctant to leave the rebel-held territory.

This is dangerous, for any foreign national who stays behind at this critical time can only be regarded as collaborating with the rebels. And in the present Nigerian crisis, the role of a collaborator with the rebels is as bad as that of a mercenary.

Let us hope that no country will use the presence of its nationals in the midst of the rebels as an excuse to get involved in what the whole world has recognized as a domestic affairs of Nigeria.

## THE ESCAPE PLANS OF THE REBEL LEADERS

By

*Oladimeji Adekunle*

While the Enugu radio broadcasts news of imaginary victory daily, members of the 'Rebel High Command,' it is reliably learnt, are busy putting final touches to their escape plans.

An interesting aspect of this planning is that it is not a united action of the rebel 'high command.' As shells and mortars jolt members of the 'high command' from their dreams of a Biafran Empire, factions are forming within the 'high command.' Those who were opposed to secession from the outset are planning their own escape as a group.

The faction of the 'high command' led by Ojukwu himself, while pretending to the public in Enugu that they will make a last-ditch stand at Enugu, are putting final touches to their escape by air or sea—whichever is more convenient.

But the two groups are resolutely opposed by the 'revenge seekers' who are counselling that all the members of the rebel 'high command' should continue the fight at Enugu.

The rebel who favour a fight to death, have formed a group of ten reliable junior staff officers whose sole duty is to watch all the senior members of the rebel 'high command' known to be planning a last-minute getaway. Members of the 'watch committee' are placed in strategic centres in the Eastern States. Some are watching Creek Town, Calabar, where Ojukwu is known to have recently tied up a high-powered speed boat for crossing to Santa Isabel in Fernando-Po. Others are said to be watching Enugu Airport where frantic efforts are being made to recondition the hi-jacked F.26 of the Nigeria Airways for a possible dawn getaway.

The luxury jet aircraft in which Ojukwu had hoped to make his escape has been impounded in Switzerland because of his inability to pay the crew and maintenance charges in Swiss Francs as he originally promised.

If the F.26 Aircraft of the Nigeria Airways can indeed be recon-

ditioned, the vigilance of the 'watch committee' will be heavily taxed as it is known that Ojukwu plans to make his getaway under the pretext of going to see General Ankrah for negotiations to end hostilities.

If the 'watch committee' members really wish to stop Ojukwu from deserting their sinking ship, they will do well to turn a deaf ear to any travel excuses put up by Ojukwu. He deserted the January 15 organizers in their hour of distress. There is no reason why he should not put up a repeat performance.

The rebel 'watch committee' is also saddled with the task of watching soldiers and civilians from the East-Central State who were opposed to secession from the outset, as well as senior officers and civilians from the South-Eastern and Rivers States. Their order is to prevent them from leaving Enugu in order to avoid the total collapse of morale among the rebels. Their task will be more difficult as the irresistible federal advance towards Enugu continues.

From the experience of Nsukka, the disorganization will be too vast for the containment of escaping groups. The 'watch committee' of the rebel 'high command' will therefore do well to concentrate all attention on Ojukwu, the paramount leader, and his favoured henchmen.

Further evidence of Ojukwu's escape plans has come to light from the intensive activities of his messengers of hate such as Pius Okigbo, Matthew Mbu, C. C. Mojekwu, Chike Obi and Louis Mbanefo who are now known to be making feverish arrangements to purchase houses and other properties in European countries such as Switzerland and the French Riviera.

While the rebel gang continues to lead the so-called soldiers of the East-Central State to a certain death, they are secretly planning how to escape from the consequences of the destruction that has resulted from their actions.

One can only hope the common people of the East-Central State will quickly see through their deceitful leaders and denounce them early enough before they are left in the lurch to face the music alone.

## THE BONNY VICTORY

*By*

*Edet Jackson*

The liberation of Bonny has shown that the Enugu rebels rely more on a paper army than on a real fighting force. But more than that, Bonny is symbolic of the total defeat that awaits the rebel soldiers on all strategic fronts.

While the fall of the university town of Nsukka registered a political and psychological victory against Ojukwu and his gang, the capture of Bonny should be noted for its economic significance. The rebel leaders have all the while boasted of the economic viability of their so-called Republic of Biafra. But it is a well-known fact that this assumed economic self-sufficiency was actually based mainly on the oil revenues of the Rivers State, of which Bonny is an important area, and on the agricultural resources of the South-Eastern State.

The island town of Bonny commands the entrance to the river port of Port Harcourt and the oil tanker terminal in the Rivers State. Its capture by the combined operation of the Nigerian Navy and Army will obviously relieve the Navy of the necessity to patrol a wide expanse of the outward sea area of the Eastern coast of the Federation. The blockade imposed by the Federal Government on the ports of the Eastern States can now be made effective both by land and sea.

In fact, as soon as the drive of the Federal troops towards Calabar succeeds, the blockade can be mounted from the ports against any in-coming boats with the aid of shore batteries.

Already, the economic sanctions of the Federal Government against the rebel regime have resulted in drastic shortages of vital necessities of life such as salt, flour, drugs and food. The capture of Bonny will now worsen the situation and with the expected fall of Calabar the illegal supply lines of military equipment to the rebel army will be finally and completely cut off.

It is however worthy of note that the Federal Government troops only

needed one operation to liberate Bonny from the control of the rebel army. Instead of asking for Federal aid to protect their installations, the Shell-BP hurriedly paid token royalties to the Enugu rebels and later pleaded duress. Now, their ill-advised *de facto* recognition of Ojukwu has misfired and their designs to promote and sustain a puppet regime in Enugu have been dealt a fatal blow by the victory of Bonny.

The liberation of Bonny has also introduced a new dimension to the police operation to contain the Enugu rebellion. The Nigerian Navy, hitherto confined to the seaward blockade of the Eastern coast, was brought into full use. A spokesman of the rebels, Matthew Mbu, who was a former Federal Naval Affairs Minister, unashamedly told the World Press recently that Nigeria had no effective Navy.

But the Nigerian Navy has shown itself in the recent operations to be an effective wing of the Nigerian Armed Forces by helping to land troops at Bonny. And, in fact, the effective blockade mounted against the Eastern ports, in spite of all odds, has shown that the Navy has the men that can measure up to every emergency. Every Nigerian wishes them more success in future campaigns.

With the fall of Bonny, the rebel radio in Enugu has continued to maintain its usual propaganda of lies and half-truths. The new pattern of propaganda by the rebel radio is to claim victory by the Nigerian Army as success for the rebel troops. Where fighting still continues, the Enugu radio would broadcast news of consolidation and entrenchment by the rebel forces.

It is a well-known fact that the rebel gang really have no Navy, though Lt.-Comd. Anuku was appointed the head of such an imaginary organization. The mine-sweeper, *N.N.S. Ibadan*, which the Enugu rebel seized from the Naval base at Calabar is reported to have been sunk. Yet the Enugu radio openly lied to the entire world that the non-existent rebel Navy went into action at Bonny and destroyed four vessels of the Nigerian Navy.

It is obvious that the Enugu rebels fully understood the implications of the Bonny victory of the Federal Forces. With the capture of Bonny the Federal troops have now created bridge-heads in the three Eastern States for a three-prong concerted movement towards Enugu.

Day by day, the bells of defeat and doom toll louder for the Enugu rebels; still they turn deaf ears. One can only hope that the final assault of the Federal forces will be early and swift in order to reduce the extent of unavoidable destruction caused by the stubbornness of Ojukwu and his gang.

## THE FOREIGN PRESS AND THE NIGERIAN SITUATION

By

*Felix Ani*

A survey of the foreign Press shows that American and British newspapers, radio and television stations, among others, have been quite articulate, if wrong-headed, about the current situation in Nigeria.

A detailed analysis of reports, comments and editorial views, clearly shows that the Western Press have failed to treat the Nigerian crisis with objectivity or impartiality. In fact, from the tone of these reports and comments, the Western Press and Radio are not in favour of the present police operation to keep Nigeria one. Yet these are the same people who throw up their hands in horror with unprecedented unanimity at the alleged encouragement of secession in the Quebec Province of Canada by General De Gaulle. It is now obvious to those who were inclined to doubt it, that while the western media of information will go all out to defend the national integrity of their countries, they will, for well-known reasons, collaborate with 'secessionists' to keep Africa weak and divided.

Before the Enugu rebels fired the first shots on July 6, the Western Press and Radio were unanimously sold on the idea that all odds would be against the Federal Government in the event of an armed clash. To them, Ojukwu's treason and secession, which they glibly termed a struggle for self-determination, were a cause more noble than the survival and integrity of a nation. The fact that seven million Ibos were oppressing five million non-Ibos was significantly ignored. Arm-chair experts on Nigeria and so-called military analysts in Britain and America produced a number of reasons why they believed the Federal Government would be incapable of crushing the Enugu rebellion.

On the economic side, their bias was demonstrated by persistent suggestions that the Federal Government could not enforce its blockade. When the Nigerian Navy gave the lie to this, the Western Press and

Radio shifted their ground to what they believed to be the impending collapse of the Nigerian economy. The facts that the Enugu rebels cannot export the cash crops of the Eastern States or import essential raw materials and that up to now they have neither external reserves nor a currency of their own were also surprisingly overlooked.

All told, the Western Press and Radio were out to win Ojukwu's war for him on the pages of their newspapers and on the air. This is why they have been so confused by the initial successes of the Federal Forces. But rather than confess their prejudice, they now resort to introducing elements of doubt into their reports of Federal Military successes. This attempt to save the faces of their so-called experts will fail like their previous efforts.

What every Nigerian wants to know is why the world's major media of information should line up so blindly behind Ojukwu and his gang. Apart from the innate desire to keep the black man down, the American and British Press are the by-products of a culture governed by propaganda and image making. It is therefore not surprising that these papers have fallen for Ojukwu's extensive, but false, propaganda machinery. The provision of free trips to Enugu and free accommodation and other facilities have also played a major part in Ojukwu's brain-washing tactics.

It is a valid conclusion that the attitude of the Western Press, especially the British and American Press, has thoroughly compromised the declared policy of non-involvement by their countries. The argument that the media of information in both countries are free, does not hold water. They mould public opinion and public opinion subsequently affect government views and policy. But it should by now be known that the views expressed by American and British newspapers and radios are based on biased assessment and distorted facts.

In the midst of the predicament in which the Western media of information have found themselves as a result of misplaced sympathy and narrowness of view, one hopes that the ethics of well-informed journalism can eventually be recovered.

One also hopes that as the truth about Nigeria is daily unfolded, the American and British Governments will resolutely maintain their declared policy of non-involvement in the Nigerian crisis despite the distorted reports and prejudiced opinions published by their Press and Radio.

## THE INEVITABILITY OF A TOTAL WAR

By

*Abimbola Williams*

By another stroke of miscalculation, the Enugu rebels have escalated the Nigerian crisis to a point where a peaceful solution is impossible. Only recently, a radio commentator argued the case for confining the present operation within the scope of a police action. Events in the last seventy-two hours have, however, changed the complexion of the whole campaign. The Ibo coup d'etat in Benin has not only added a new dimension to the war but it has also established the case for a full scale military operation by the Federal Government.

Only last week, some of Ojukwu's sympathizers in Nigeria and overseas were calling loudly for a truce. They claimed that, as the Federal troops had established their military superiority over the rebels, it would be only humane for the Federal Government to call a temporary halt to the police action in order to enable the rebels to reconsider their desperate situation. Critics of this call for a one-sided truce pointed out that neither in words nor action had the rebels shown any sign that they were willing to talk peace. The case of the critics has now been borne out by Ojukwu's recent antics.

In the Mid-West, treachery has been employed to destroy a trusting Government which tried to remain neutral in the crisis. The rebels and their collaborators call their betrayal a liberation from a non-existent Hausa-Fulani domination. In fact, what they have done is to instal an Ibo-dominated Government which can be trusted to play an active role in their diabolical plan not only to dominate the Mid-West but also the rest of Nigeria.

There is nothing new in this attempt although they have always tried to mask it in nationalist slogans. In January 1966, Nigeria witnessed a similar bid by the Ibos for nation-wide power which, for sometime, they successfully disguised as a patriotic move to rid the country of corrupt politicians. Then, as now, the Ibos, no matter how corrupt, remain untouched.

It is now obvious that, instead of accepting the terms for ending the war laid down by the Federal Military Government, the Enugu rebels are seeking new ways of killing two birds with one stone. Their short-term aim is to expand their war-making capacity by plundering the Mid-West State for supplies and diverting Federal attention from the Enugu Front. Nigerians will not allow them to get away with this because if they do they will proceed to execute their long-term plan of dominating the Southern States of Nigeria for the exclusive benefit of the land-hungry Ibos.

In the pursuit of these aims, no means have been too cruel or inhuman to be employed by the rebels. Innocent civilians in Lagos, Makurdi, Bida, Ogoja and Kaduna have been showered with explosives from the air and killed by terrorist bombs planted by the agents of the rebels.

Their gullible friends overseas have so far turned a blind eye to these acts of treachery, sabotage and terrorism. Rather than condemn such savagery they are now claiming to see a transformed military situation which warrants the need for peaceful negotiation.

When the Federal Government, as it must soon do, takes all steps to match the escalation of the military operations by the Enugu rebels, there will be shouts of 'pogrom' 'pogrom'!

But the masses of Nigeria fully support the Federal Government to take any action on land, sea and air to bring this rebellion to a quick end. The masses of Nigeria will be prepared to make all necessary sacrifices for the reconstruction which such action may later demand.

Ojukwu and his gang have shown clearly that they will, for their part, take all measures available to them to sustain their rebellion. The Federal Government will be failing in its duty to Nigeria and Africa if it does not reply in kind.

## THE REBELS' DESPERATE SEARCH FOR FOREIGN EXCHANGE

By

*Jimoh Garuba*

For the past few weeks, expatriate evacuees from the Eastern States had been relating stories of the mounting desperation in Enugu caused by the biting effects of the economic sanctions and blockade imposed by the Federal Military Government. Areas still occupied by the rebel regime are known to be suffering from acute shortage of drugs, raw materials, spare parts, food and other necessities of life.

But the frantic collection of money by force from ordinary citizens in which the rebel storm troopers continued to indulge, created the impression that as far as money was concerned, everything was being taken care of. The recently announced discovery has however provided a vital documentary evidence of the rebels' desperate need of funds. The source they rely upon is also now an open secret.

The captured document contains agreements whereby Ojukwu purports to sign away the mineral wealth of the Eastern States for the paltry sum of £6,000,000 for a period of ten years. The rebel regime, according to the agreement, empowered Francis Chukwuka Nwokedi, one of their emissaries in charge of their affairs in America and France to grant a monopoly to a particular French Bank on the basis of negotiations with two French men.

The agreement stipulates that the French Bank is to make available £6,000,000 sterling for the use of the rebel regime. £1,000,000 out of this amount was to be immediately despatched to Enugu.

The monopolistic concession also grants exclusive rights to the French Bank to exploit and extract mineral wealth of Eastern States such as crude oil, columbite ore, tin concentrate, coal, uranium and gold.

The significance of this document can hardly be over-emphasized both for the field it covers and its full implications. It must be recalled, however, that on dismissing Ojukwu from the Nigerian Army and from his post as Military Governor of the East-Central State, the Federal

Government divested him of all authority to act on behalf of Nigeria or any part of the country. In fact, the whole world was notified that any agreement purportedly concluded with the rebel regime and their messengers would be null and void as far as the Federal Military Government was concerned. Parties to such agreements would be signing at their own risk.

It is clear from this document, however, that Ojukwu and his gang are prepared to sell their birthright for a mess of portage. The rebel gang have visibly demonstrated that they are ready to barter away the wealth of the fatherland and use the filthy proceeds to finance their inordinate ambition. This is a crime whose enormity is matched only by their inconsiderate use of innocent youngsters and dying old men as cannon fodder in their futile military efforts.

There are however, various sides to the monopolistic concession, the implications of which conclusively indict Ojukwu and his gang as frivolous adventurers. In short, the false roof-top patriotism of the Nnewi clique has now been nakedly exposed to the world.

The heinous crime that has been committed by this so-called agreement has no parallel in recent African history except perhaps Tshombe's shameless collusion with the imperialist exploiters in the Congo. It is noteworthy that it was only a couple of days that the rebels illegally seized the installations of a foreign oil company. This was because the company rightly refused to pay royalties to which the rebels were in fact, not entitled. Having failed to obtain the royalties or ransom money by blackmail Ojukwu and his gang are adopting a new line for obtaining money which they so desperately need. It is known that the rebel have exhausted the treasury of the Eastern States with reckless purchase of arms and with foolish and costly foreign propaganda.

From their latest gambit Ojukwu and his gang, apart from looking for money, are also hoping to internationalize the present crisis.

One can only hope that neo-colonialist conspirators and collaborators will not interfere in a matter which the rest of the world now regards as the internal affair of Nigeria. Such foreign financiers of secession and treason will ultimately become victim of the rebel's fraudulent tricks which will subsequently embroil their home government in unpleasant diplomatic upheavals.

With the latest addition to Ojukwu's list of crimes, one hopes his sympathizers will now realize that they have all the time been backing a wrong and losing horse which has sealed its own doom by trying to be too clever.

## THE GROWING DESPERATION IN THE REBEL CAMP

*By*

*Abiola Lipede*

Latest reports from Enugu indicate that panic is spreading through the rebel capital following the capture of Bonny by the Federal liberation forces. Already, many Central Easterners who fear the impending fall of the adjacent strategic town of Port Harcourt are fleeing from there to Enugu.

Apparently, the Rebel High Command has itself been seriously infected by the growing panic in the city. Every hour they have been making contradictory statements that would even shame a team of Boy Scouts who have lost their bearing during an excursion.

If the rebel command had stopped at their self-contradictory statements one would have thought they could still regain a measure of sanity. Instead, in their desperation, they resorted to banditry, seizing Nigerian and Non-Nigerian civilians alike. The latest news is of the kidnapping of Mr Stanley Gray, the Managing Director of the Shell-BP Petroleum Company whose headquarters is based in Port Harcourt perhaps the next target of the crack Federal troops.

This episode of the rebels' strategy would have been regarded as being in line with their past criminal records, such as hi-jacking, piracy and bomb-planting but for its wider implications.

Before the fall of Bonny, the Enugu rebels had made much noise about their total control of the oil-rich Rivers State. The victory of the Federal forces in the island town completely disproved that lie. And now that they have no means of buttressing their weak claims they believe that they could prevent the inevitable fall of Port Harcourt with their recent desperate action. But the senseless kidnapping of Mr Gray can only increase the numerous difficulties already confronting the rebel regime.

However, one cannot but note the irony in this latest crime of

Ojukwu and his gang in that Shell-BP had all the while adamantly denied the need for protection by the Federal forces. In fact, they went as far as giving the secessionist regime in Enugu £250,000 as token royalties, thus aiding and abetting them on the pretext that they were then acting under duress.

The seizure of Mr Gray would have to be considered in all its aspects before one can see how the minds of the Enugu rebels are working. There is no doubt that months of Federal Government's effective economic sanctions and blockade have depleted the Enugu treasury. To replenish their purse, the rebels have therefore resorted to gangster-style kidnapping by holding an important personality as hostage. In other words, the rebel regime has resolved that if it cannot get in full the oil revenue it so desperately needs then it must have some ransom money.

There is another perspective from which to view the recent act of banditry by Ojukwu and his gang. Perhaps, they hope to provoke foreign intervention in the Nigerian crisis because of their victim's nationality. Afterwards, did the British not fight a war because of Jenkin's ear? As the argument now goes in Enugu, there might be a war to restore Gray to freedom. But as usual, this is another gross miscalculation on the rebels' part. It is common knowledge that the Federal Government had for long warned all foreigners to quit the Eastern States because of the current police action against the regime forcibly occupying the area.

Anyway, the British, whom Ojukwu would only gladly draw into the present conflict, cannot land paratroopers in Enugu without first bombarding the rebel city in order to reduce resistance. It is, however, incontrovertible that there is no basis for such a military intervention by the British on behalf of Mr Gray. In fact, such an invasion will be an aggression on Nigeria, a violation of the territorial integrity of the nation and an undiplomatic reversal of Britain's declared policy that the current crisis is Nigeria's internal affairs.

In conclusion, a very pertinent question crops up: even if Britain does not intervene on Gray's behalf, will Shell-BP pay the ransom that may be demanded by the Enugu gangster?

There is no doubt that even if Shell takes another ill-advised step of payment, they will only be buying their man's freedom. This will not detract a penny from their contractual obligations to the Federal Government of Nigeria.

It is therefore clear that the precipitate action of Ojukwu and his

gangsters in kidnapping a personnel of a foreign company operating in Nigeria has indeed not introduced any vital or decisive factor to the central issue at stake. This is just like a side-show. Every Nigerian is resolutely determined on keeping the nation one and crushing the Enugu rebels to the last man.

## THE APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF THE EAST-CENTRAL STATE

*By*

*Olumide Thomas*

Pitiful as it seems, the destruction and loss of lives that have resulted from the present police action against Ojukwu and his gang, are clearly inevitable. Many nations in the world have sacrificed more in order to maintain their national integrity. And more cruel wars have been fought for less noble causes.

But as the net gradually closes round the Enugu rebels, it is necessary to start considering the work of reconstruction that will follow at the end of the present police action. There is no doubt that the physical aspect of reconstruction is mainly a matter of money and manpower. Beyond physical reconstruction, however, is the onerous task of disabusing the minds of many Central Easterners of the hate and violence which Ojukwu and his diabolical clique have planted in them.

During their feverish preparation for war, Ojukwu and his men put into operation a detailed indoctrination programme in the schools, colleges and other institutions of higher learning in the Eastern States. Such programmes were tailored in such a way as to arrest the imagination of the impressionable youngsters. However, some of these schoolboys whom Ojukwu later conscripted and despatched to the battle front subsequently confessed that they still loved Nigerians. But there is no doubt that many of the youngsters avidly took to heart some rebels' slogans of hatred against the fatherland. But fair treatment given by Federal soldiers to rebel captives is rapidly eroding the hate implanted in the hearts of these young Nigerians.

Apart from the despicable violation of the innocence of young minds thousands of pounds in public funds were spent by the rebels' messengers of hate in touring all the nooks and corners of the Eastern State preaching against the fatherland and peddling anti-Nigerian pamphlets in the various languages of the new States. In fact, the former Eastern

Nigeria Information Service opened a number of provincial offices to supervise the operation.

Civil servants were commissioned or coerced to engage in political activities such as the organization of spurious societies to oppose the creation of States in the country. They were also charged with organizing parades to welcome Ojukwu and his henchmen during their campaigns of hate, as well as demonstrations against the Federal Government. Today, however, the joyous welcome of Federal soldiers in the liberated areas of the Eastern States is part of history. In view of these facts, any campaign mounted by the Federal Government to reorientate the thinking of Central Easterners will be most welcome.

Already, the Head of the Federal Military Government and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Major-General Yakubu Gowon, has given his personal assurances, guaranteeing the property, rights and equality of Ibos in the Nigerian Federation.

From the manner the present operations are being conducted, it is clear that the Federal Military Government is not fighting against the Ibos as a people and the Federal troops in the field do not regard them as their personal enemies or of other Nigerians. The Federal Government recognizes the Ibos as equal to other ethnic groups in the country and is resolutely determined to recover for them and help reassert their rights to their immovable property left behind everywhere in the Federation.

The code of conduct guiding the Federal Forces in the field has ensured that the sufferings of the people in the areas of operation will be minimized. Reports in the papers have confirmed that the Federal soldiers are abiding by the code. But the number of lives lost and the length of time spent on this operation largely depend on what many Central Easterners do during the period.

To shorten the time of the police action and reduce their sufferings every Ibo in the East-Central State still loyal to Nigeria must desist from giving further physical, moral or financial support to the rebel regime in Enugu.

Though Ojukwu has poisoned the hearts of many Central Easterners against the fatherland, there is no doubt that a change is still possible. From the Federal Government's constructive measures of reconstruction in the various liberated areas of the Eastern States, the Ibos must now realize that they only need to overthrow Ojukwu's evil leadership and they will be warmly accepted by every other Nigerian.

It is only wise that for the sake of their present and future generations the Central Easterners should now return to the fatherland.

## THE OGOJA ROBBERY

By

*Mike Usenekong*

It is now certain that there is no extreme action which the rebel leaders in Enugu will not adopt in order to achieve their insatiable but doomed ambition. But while the secessionists are throwing everything into their big gamble, it is the common people who suffer from their futile actions. Yet these are the people whom the rebel gang proclaimed to the world that they are fighting for.

In the light of these facts, the recent theft of £120,000 from the local treasury in Ogoja by fleeing Ibo officers should not come as a surprise. It was part of the long-standing order from the rebel leaders in Enugu. In fact, the arch-secessionist, Ojukwu, laid the precedent and emboldened many Central Easterners with his high-jacking of an Aircraft of the Nigeria Airways, and the seizure of Federal establishments in the Eastern States last March. He was only giving a direct order, by example, to many Central Easterners in the Federal Civil Service to bring back to his still-born Republic as much of Federal property they could steal.

It will be recalled that many Central Easterners who purportedly transferred to the Public Service of the East-Central State actually absconded from Lagos without notice. The intention was to disrupt the smooth running of the machinery of government and corporations in Lagos and other parts of the country. But when the Enugu rebels realized that this, like many of their short-sighted schemes, could not succeed, Central Easterners who subsequently fled from Lagos after the first batch, were specifically instructed to perpetrate all sorts of criminal acts calculated to cripple or cause the total collapse of the machinery of government in Lagos.

Drivers of East-Central State origin are known to have fled to the East with official cars on the pretext that they were going to service the vehicles or to collect petrol for the day. Some officials of the Nigerian Railway in Lagos, who are Central Easterners by origin, were also

reported to have despatched to the State, £10,000 worth of Railway equipment without due authorization. These men obviously took their cue from Ojukwu's earlier action when he confiscated a number of wagons and rolling stocks of the same Corporation.

It was later confirmed, however, by informed sources that most of the goods illegally transferred to the East-Central State were actually deposited with the all-purpose Rehabilitation Committee as contributions by the donors for the survival of the illegal regime.

Apart from the petty crimes, bolder attempts were in fact made by the criminals in the pay of the Enugu regime. Such efforts included the attempted stealing of a seventy-seater passenger bus of the Lagos City Council. This daylight theft was not discovered until the driver got to Benin where the bus was eventually recovered.

It is common knowledge that many Central Eastern Officers blindly believed in Ojukwu's assurances and deserted their desks in Lagos. But such deserters are known to have left behind them a trail of breaches of promise and contract with private companies and corporations. For example, many officers fled from Lagos with government advances and official properties on loan without liquidating such loans. And many are known to have drawn by overdrafts from banks and committed petty frauds prior to their departure. Others collected salary advances and many refused to meet their petrol credits before leaving.

Without doubt these petty crimes have undermined the confidence of many indigenous and foreign finance houses and banks in most Central Easterners. And other innocent Nigerians have been made to suffer as a result of such widespread lack of confidence.

The Ogoja robbery has however conclusively proved that Ojukwu had hoped that his dream empire would subsist mainly on the proceeds of the criminal activities of his henchmen in various parts of the Eastern States and the rest of the Federation.

The people in the Rivers and the occupied parts of the South-East States can not be too vigilant now that the rebel gang and their henchmen have unfolded the next stage of their plan against the people by the armed robbery of the public treasury at Ogoja.

Daily, the crimes of Ojukwu and his gang against the people mount. The people of the Eastern States must do their utmost to protect their property from the depredations of people who are obviously now preparing for a comfortable exile outside Nigeria.

## THE PROSPECTS FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE NIGERIA CRISIS

*By*

*John Igbozue*

Col. Hassan's statement that in spite of the police action now going on in the Eastern States there is still room for a peaceful settlement of the crisis has become the talking point throughout the country. People are curious to know how such a settlement can be achieved at this stage. Certainly, given the will, courage and the restoration of commonsense and moderation in the rebel camp, there is no reason why peace cannot be concluded even now.

As a famous writer has said 'war is the continuation of policy by other means'. In the Nigerian situation, the Federal Government's policy is to keep Nigeria one. Therefore, whenever this policy is unconditionally accepted by the rebel clique in Enugu the police action in its present form would be rendered unnecessary.

The public, however, demands one thing: that all talk of an armed truce or cease-fire must be completely rejected. Nigerians remember with bitter regret that the so-called Aburi Agreement gave Ojukwu more than he demanded. It was also meant to be a diplomatic cease-fire or cooling off period. But instead of using such breathing space to seek a lasting settlement to the crisis, Ojukwu used the time to put finishing touches to his aggressive plans and preparations for total war against the fatherland.

It is now known that Ojukwu commenced action against the best advice of his more experienced officers who counselled moderation and negotiations. He was so carried away by his dream of empire and lust for total power in his imaginary republic that he chose war which he thought would be a short cut.

Now, the disasters which could easily have been foreseen have struck his ill-prepared and ill-equipped troops on all fronts. What has he done? Is he repentant? The sad answer is 'No'! Instead, he urges each

of his troops to bring back twenty Nigerian heads and occupy twenty acres of Nigerian land. To achieve this, his latest device is to board up old transport lorries with steel plates. These are dispatched to the Nsukka sector as armed cars. Of course, as anyone could have told the would-be dictator, these contraptions are nothing but death traps for his troops.

The mark of a good soldier is that he knows when a fight is lost. By surrendering, he can save life and preserve some of the objectives he was fighting for.

If the non-Ibos of the former Eastern Nigeria do not want to govern the Ibos, why should the Ibos be so determined to govern them? It is a strange irony that Ibo intellectuals who joined in mocking the white man's claim of a divine right to rule Nigeria, should now fight to subjugate and rule their fellow Nigerians of the South-East and Rivers States.

Surely, if the rebel leaders accept the twelve States and the indivisibility of Nigeria, two things which, in any case, they can now do nothing to prevent—they can end the wanton destruction of lives and property. They must know that their military leader Ojukwu has gone too far to retreat. The collapse of his dreams has created in him a death-wish which cannot be curbed. They may not succeed in preventing him from committing suicide, but they have a responsibility to rescue the people of the East-Central State from his clutches. The sooner they can perform this duty, the better it will be for them and the present and future generations of Central Easterners.

Disgraceful stories of Ojukwu's performances have come out of the liberated areas of the South-East State. Firstly, contrary to what he had told the world, the people of the South-East State are happy to see the last of Ojukwu's short but tyrannical rule. Secondly, there are stories of arson, pillage, and wilful destruction of roads by the retreating rebel soldiers. These things are blamed upon Ibos. If these acts continue, what trust, what goodwill can there be between the Ibos and their neighbours in the South-East and Rivers States. Can the Ibos live in indefinite and complete isolation?

## THE SACRED DUTY BEFORE THE NIGERIAN ARMED FORCES

*By*

*Olumide Thomas*

On the 15th of January, 1966, a number of Ibo Army Officers triggered off a chain of events, the shock waves of which have now engulfed Nigeria in a life and death struggle. No doubt the selfless and patriotic leadership of the Federal Military Government will triumph over Ojukwu's selfishness, greed and insatiable personal ambition.

Having lost all in their mad bid for the exclusive possession of national power, the Nnewi clique at first sought to make do with the land of the South-Eastern State and the oil wealth of the Rivers State. The resistance of the people of these two States to Ojukwu's oppression was not always understood by his friends in Nigeria and abroad. His propaganda line that he was liberating these peoples from an imaginary Hausa-Fulani domination was often swallowed thoughtlessly.

By using the Mid-Westerners of Ibo origin to cross into the Mid-West, the true nature of this man, Ojukwu and of his ambitions for himself and the Ibos are now exposed for all to see. His troops claim to be an army of Liberation but his prisoners of war are the respected Oba of Benin, Akenzua II, Chief Jereton Mariere, a well-known non-Ibo son of the Mid-West and Mr Justice Begho, presumably for having the integrity to question Osadebay's ill-gotten wealth. The people of the Mid-West and the rest of Nigeria are now in a position to learn afresh what the Ibibios, the Ijaws and the Efiks of the former Eastern Region, have had to endure these many years.

Not content with their existing military and political blunders, the rebel clique are calling upon the Yorubas to join them in their madness. But the Yoruba people, now alerted by the rebel gangs' treachery in the Mid-West, are waiting to smash the traitors if their agents should show their faces in the Western State. The Yorubas want peace and freedom and not to be pawns, in anybody's power game.

The Yorubas have never sought to dominate any other group and by the same token do not wish to be dominated. They recall with bitterness that the Ibos preferred to join the first Federal Government of Nigeria with non-Yorubas.

Even as recently as 1964, after Ibo civilian leaders had been defeated by their rash tactics in the Federal Elections, they left the Yorubas in the lurch and scrambled to the safety of the last Balewa Government. No, the Yorubas will not be taken in again. The Ibos, like the Germans will just have to learn the hard way to contain their ambition within a multi-ethnic Nigeria.

What Ibo politicians failed to accomplish under a civilian regime their armed brigands are now resolved to achieve by force of arms. This is internal aggression by one particular group of Nigerian citizens against their fellow-countrymen. Since every other Nigerian is not armed, the fate, hope and future of the nation have now become the sacred responsibility of the Nigerian Armed Forces.

The duty of the Armed Forces is therefore, clear. The Army, Navy, and Air Force must not fail the nation. All available resources must be placed at their disposal in this struggle for the restoration of the national integrity of Nigeria. Nigerians to a man, are fully prepared to aid the armed forces to accomplish their task with the minimum of delay.

It is also a cardinal responsibility of the Federal Military Government to protect and ensure the rights of every State in Nigeria to peace, prosperity, stability and good government. This shall not be the first time that the Nigerian Armed Forces will engage in such a noble operation.

Fighting as the Royal West African Frontier Force, the Nigerian Army was called to other parts of the world to do such a duty. In Abyssinia, the Nigerian Army fought side by side with troops from various parts of the world to ensure the freedom and integrity of modern Ethiopia then threatened by Mussolini's fascism. In the Second World War, Nigerian troops were taken thousands of miles to Burma to fight against Japanese expansionism. The commendable performances of the same Army in the Congo is still fresh in the memory of all Nigerians.

The task before the Nigerian Armed Forces today is certainly within their capacity to accomplish. It is a noble cause for which they have fought before in other lands. The Nigerian masses believe that these great achievements by the Nigerian Armed Forces in foreign lands can and must be repeated here. The peoples of the South-Eastern, Rivers and Mid-West States also have the duty to rise and deal mercilessly

with the Ibo invaders in their midst who are there solely to plunder their treasuries and steal their food for the sustenance of the East-Central State.

One hopes that the Ibos, as a people, do not wish to go down in History as the tribe that lost its head. This, unfortunately, is the calamity which Ojukwu's evil leadership is heading towards. The rest of Nigeria awaits to welcome Ibos with open arms if only they will reject and destroy Ojukwu's leadership and purge themselves of the many crimes that have been committed in their name.

## NIGERIA'S FINAL REJECTION OF IBO DOMINATION

*By*

*Edet Jackson*

In spite of their many weaknesses, Ibo leaders from Dr Azikiwe through Okpara and Osadebay to Ojukwu have always demonstrated one great ability very helpful to their cause. That is the ability to make particular interests seem universal, and to cloak the sectional interest of the Ibos in the garb of Nigerian nationalism.

From time to time, however, through excessive zeal and indiscretion they sometimes let the cat of Ibo domination out of the bag. Thus, Dr Azikiwe, addressing the Ibo Union Assembly some years ago, said in such a moment of euphoria: 'God created the Ibos to lead Africa.' Before then, another well-known Ibo son, had boasted that 'the question of Ibo domination of Nigeria is a matter of time.' Many non-Ibo Nigerian nationalists were troubled by these utterances but were willing to ignore them in the interest of the life and death struggle against British imperialism.

With independence, however, the Ibos intensified their plans to rule Nigeria. This struggle reached new heights with Dr Azikiwe's inflammatory broadcast during the Federal election campaigns of 1964 when he sowed the seeds of the present crisis by his intrigues with Ibo army officers. The culmination of the Ibo drive for power came with the coup of January, 1966.

It is revealing to note that the late General Ironsi who claimed to be suppressing a mutiny held prolonged telephone discussions on the issue with Dr Azikiwe in London and Dr Orizu at the State House. He then falsely told the frightened civilian cabinet that he could not suppress the mutiny without taking over power. Also he cleverly lied to the surviving non-Ibo army officers saying, 'the civilians want the army to take over and have called upon me to shoulder this onerous responsibility.'

Events later revealed that this was the most successful manoeuvre ever carried out by the Ibos for exclusive national power in Nigeria. Ironsi then tried to disguise his real intention by a series of measures purporting to unite the country, the most ridiculous of which was Decree No. 34. Before this decree, he had been advised by non-Ibo Nigerian leaders that the only way of removing the fear of domination of one group by another was the creation of more States in Nigeria. But his Ibo collaborators such as Ojukwu, Onyuike, Okigbo and Nwo-ke-edi, afraid that the Ibos would lose the oil wealth of the Rivers State, if States were created, insisted on Decree No. 34 as a means of putting Ironsi even more firmly in the saddle.

As these measures began to be seen as part of the Ibo plan to dominate Nigeria, disenchantment set in. Then followed the July incidents of 1966 and other subsequent events which are now part of history. Having been frustrated in their designs to rule Nigeria, the Ibos resorted to the destruction of what they could not have and, contrary to what is popularly believed by Ojukwu's friends abroad, the Ibo plan for secession was finalized as far back as August, 1966.

In the attempt to justify their secession plan, provocation against non-Ibos living in the then Eastern Region was intensified. This reached a climax when a train-load of Northern Nigerian men, children and women on its way to the North was stopped at Imo river and all of them were slaughtered and their bodies dumped in the river. The so-called massacre of the Ibos in the North which has been Ojukwu's talking point commenced when the news of these atrocities reached Kaduna.

In their characteristic attempt to present Ibo interests as universal, Ojukwu and his clique called upon the five million non-Ibos of the East to join the Ibos in the so-called Republic of Biafra on the ground that they were slaughtered with Ibos in the North. The refusal of the non-Ibos to join in this conspiracy against Nigeria has been the greatest weakness in the Ibo plan to destroy the fatherland.

Driven to desperation by the impending failure of their plans in the Eastern States, they made one more effort to conceal an Ibo interest in the outdated and inapplicable slogan of southern solidarity. But it has not taken as long as in the past for this deceit to be uncovered. Except for their treacherous and ungrateful kinsmen in the Mid-West State, all other Nigerians in that State have completely rejected this idea. In the Western State which would have been their next target, the people have made it clear that they will not tolerate Ibo domination

however disguised. This latest Ibo plan to use the South as a platform for conquering the rest of Nigeria is, therefore, bound to fail.

The people of Nigeria have clearly demonstrated that Ibo domination of Nigeria, however concealed, will never, never succeed. The Ibos will have to be contented with living on equal basis with other Nigerians.

## THE DANGEROUS LIES OF ENUGU RADIO

By

*Gboyega Odunsi*

It is no longer in doubt that the real enemy of the East-Central State is Ojukwu and his Nnewi clique. Accounts have been received from all the battle fronts of untrained troops made to handle weapons about which even their instructors know very little. In this situation, those who have fallen prisoners of war have considered themselves very lucky indeed. Unconcerned, as they are, by the destruction of human life brought about by their military incompetence, Ojukwu and his gang are bringing misery nearer home to the Ibo man.

An astonishing aspect of the rebels' lack of concern for the welfare of the Central Easterners is the dangerous lies of the Enugu radio. Within four weeks of the commencement of the present campaign to keep Nigeria one, the rebel army have suffered reverses at Enugu-Ezike, Gakem, Ogoja, Nsukka, Bonny, Obolo-Eke and Opi. Up to now, the rebel gang have not officially and directly admitted any of these reverses.

Unfortunately, their lies are so elementary that others outside the Eastern States who have other evidence to go by, have devised a technique for interpreting the news put out by Enugu radio, which may now assist the people of the Eastern States generally. Thus, it is now known, that when Enugu radio says heavy fighting is going on in an area, it means that the rebels have already lost the battle there. When the rebel radio reports a combined air and ground attack against Federal troops, it means they are regrouping their scattered forces. When Enugu radio says the rebels have withdrawn tactically from an area in order to lure in the Federal forces, this means the rebel soldiers are retreating in disarray.

When they claimed to have a Navy consisting of submarines, rocket launchers, frigates, mine-layers and sweepers, it all turned out that they meant just the lonely boat they stole from the Nigerian Navy and

renamed *The Vigilance*. With the destruction of this boat in the Bonny encounter, we no longer hear of a Biafran Navy.

Now let us test this technique of interpretation against the actual reporting of the war news by Enugu radio.

Long after Gakem had fallen to the Federal Forces, Enugu radio maintained that heavy fighting was going on around the place. Weeks after Nsukka was in the bag, the rebel radio continued to fight imaginary battles around Nsukka and even went as far as reporting that Federal supply lines to the University town had been completely destroyed and that the Federal Forces had been reduced to groups of stragglers to be wiped out at will. Today, these very forces, having gone far beyond Nsukka, have captured Opi and are thrusting towards Enugu.

After Bonny had fallen, Ojukwu had the effrontery to lie that no landing had been attempted. The following day he modified it to say that four Federal ships had been sunk off Bonny. The next day, the figure was reduced to two; then to one. Finally, Shell-BP and John Holt were accused by Ojukwu of having aided a Federal landing at Bonny, which he had earlier denied.

The most tragic and inhuman of Ojukwu's lies have been about his fallen colleagues. Instead of sorrowing for Major Nzeogwu, whom he had sent to certain death, he desecrated the dead by claiming that Nzeogwu was in good health and was fighting. Mocking other dead colleagues like Chukwuka, Nzefili, Lt. Ojukwu and Captain Onyenkwe, he claimed that foreign correspondents had interviewed them. It is strange that he did not produce these officers to their relatives and local correspondents.

Lately, the rebel gang claimed a military victory in the Mid-West following a lightning campaign, whereas everyone knows that what happened was a coup against Brigadier Ejoor's Government by treacherous Ibo colleagues acting as Ojukwu's fifth column. As usual, Ojukwu is as callous as he is unconcerned about the implications of his actions for the Ibos who live in the Mid-West State. One may ask how Ojukwu expects the Itshekiris, the Edos, Ishans, Ijaws and Urhobos ever again to trust the Ibo man or to live with him in peace.

For the people of the Eastern States, the danger of Ojukwu's lies is that they are deliberately prevented from taking ordinary and elementary precautions which every government enjoins upon its non-combatant civilians in a time of war. By denying that Enugu and other places are being bombed, civilians all over the Eastern States are being

given a false sense of security and are thereby being exposed to mass destruction by the rebel gang.

The people of the Eastern States will be well advised to listen to more factual reports from other radio stations for all the lies of the rebel radio will be nailed when Enugu falls, as it soon will.

## NIGERIA'S EXTERNAL TRADE

By

*John Igbozue*

When the rebel clique in Enugu were planning their secession, the main pillar of their plot, was the delusion that with the establishment of their still-born Republic and the earlier withdrawal of Ibos from the Public Services, the rest of Nigeria would collapse in forty-eight hours. For this reason, Nigeria's External Trade figures for the first half of 1967 recently released by the Federal Office of Statistics, make very interesting reading. The details announced show total exports of £27.9 million and total imports of £18.5 million for June. If we exclude the petroleum exports for that month of £10 million, the visible trade for Nigeria for June just about balanced.

There are three significant conclusions to be drawn from the June balance of trade:

- (i) Nigeria was able to pay for its visible imports from its exports earnings. Although we know that when it comes to invisible trade there is likely to be a deficit as in recent years;
- (ii) it is possible for the rest of the Federation to trade with the outside world and pay its way with or without the former Eastern Region;
- (iii) if we compare our performance with that of the still-born Republic of Biafra for the month of June, we find that their total exports and imports were nil except for a few commodities smuggled across the Niger at Asaba and, of course, arms and ammunitions.

If we analyse the external trade figures for the first six months of 1967, we find that there was an increase in total exports due to crude petroleum and cocoa whose unit price in the world market rose substantially compared with the same period in 1966.

But the more interesting part of the first six months' figures is that the exports of palm-kernel fell by £7.8 million and palm-oil fell by £5.7 million, giving a total fall of £13.5 million for oil-palm exports. This means in the ordinary man's language that the palm-produce which

should have gone out of Port Harcourt has been successfully blocked and innocent people in the three Eastern States are suffering because they cannot export their palm-produce.

The other major decrease in exports in the first six months was £3.3 million for groundnuts due mainly to the transportation difficulties experienced in the early parts of 1967. There was also a fall of £2.4 million on rubber and £1.2 million on benniseed. So, it looks as if the largest hit commodities in the first six months of 1967 were palm-kernel and palm-oil.

It is interesting to note that the total level of imports for the month of June 1966 was £19.2 million compared with £18.5 million this year. The slight fall of £700,000 is due to the general slow-down in economic activities in the country, particularly in the three Eastern States since the higher figures for June 1966 included imports into the former Eastern Region. The fall also shows that imports into the three Eastern States were cut off in June.

The most interesting conclusions to be drawn from all these technicalities about Nigeria's external trade is that the figures recently published illustrate what has been described as the resilience of the Nigerian economy. The economy has been strong enough to absorb the adverse effects of the current crisis and the satisfactory level of the major export commodities, except palm-oil and palm-kernel, shows that, in spite of the strains and stresses, the level of economic activities in Nigeria in the first six months of 1967 was reasonably satisfactory.

The fact demonstrated by these figures is that the Federal Government has stopped subsidizing Ojukwu's government for only two months and the Enugu government is finding it virtually impossible to pay the salaries of its rebel troops for the past three months. Instead of the Government in Lagos collapsing, the Nigerian economy has absorbed the adverse effects of the current crisis much better than our cynical critics are ready to admit. There are very few developing countries in the world which can meet the challenges facing Nigeria today without external support and still do so well as shown in the healthy balance of trade figures recently published for the first six months of 1967.

External trade is the life-blood of every sovereign state. Control over external trade is one of the attributes of sovereignty. The Enugu rebellion cannot survive without external trade. It is no surprise that the pundits in Enugu cannot publish external trade figures for their self-styled Republic.

## THE FRESH REVELATIONS ABOUT THE MID-WEST COUP

*By*

*O. Ohonbamu*

Mazi Ojukwu is reported to have been receiving messages of congratulations from his co-rebels of the East-Central State for the lightening speed with which he allegedly liberated the Mid-West from the so-called Hausa-Fulani imperialism. In reporting the cowardly assault on the Mid-West a Foreign Radio station said: 'They marched in through the Asaba-Onitsha Bridge, divided into three and while one marched to take Ubiaja and Auchi, another marched on Aboh-Warri while the third took Asaba, Agbor and marched on Benin. The Biafra forces are now twenty-five miles from Benin on their march towards the West.' This is all nonsense.

Ojukwu has been lucky so far in that he is the lone devil in the Nigerian crisis who has had the golden opportunity of dining with Angels who only had short spoons. Ojukwu told the undiscerning Ejoor that only if he allowed the so-called Northern troops in the Mid-West soil he (Ojukwu) would attack the Mid-West. Deceived and deluded by this Hitlerite promise, Ejoor and his Consultative Assembly met and decided they would sit on the fence. Backed by 'the sit on the fence' resolution, Ejoor, like Neville Chamberlain, assured that he would not be attacked, went on to boast that anyone who attempted to attack the Mid-West would be committing suicide. He was prepared to maintain and defend a so-called Mid-West integrity.

Although the Mid-West Army was an arm of the Federal Army and maintained from Lagos, Lt.-Col. Nwaiwo, acting on behalf of Mazi Ojukwu, was digging trenches across the North-Mid-West border and concentrating his troop along that border as if he was expecting invasion from the North. The Asaba-Onitsha Bridge was sealed but was manned by only two people—one soldier and one Police Constable. At the ferry the unchecked movement of the Ibo-speaking Nigerians of

Eastern and Mid-West origin was unusually free, frequent and very much contrary to the spirit of the blockade. Ejoor allowed this because his Commander, Lt.-Col. Nwaiwo, advised him that the ordinary people should not be made to suffer the effects of the Nigerian crisis.

Two weeks before Ejoor announced that he was told that some 200 plain clothes soldiers were on their way to the Mid-West from Enugu, I had received a phone call from an army officer in Benin that over 200 Ojukwu soldiers in plain clothes were already in the State. These soldiers were some of the 'ordinary people' who, according to Nwaiwo, should not be allowed to suffer the effects of the Nigerian crisis. After Ejoor had publicly called attention to the fact, what did he do? Did he shut the doors of the Mid-West against all comers from the East? No.

As if to annoy Ojukwu after the fall of Nsukka, Ejoor assembled the Mid-West obas and chiefs to ask them whether or not his State could now afford to be neutral. With only one voice of dissension all the assembled chiefs agreed, that the State could no longer afford to be neutral. Did Ejoor ask for Federal troops? Did he bar the Niger to the Eastern State saboteurs?

Col. Nwaiwo and Lt.-Col. Ochei were known to have alternatively been going on pilgrimage to Enugu to finalize arrangements with Ojukwu for some time. Four days before the coup a mysterious voice from Benin told me on the phone that the position of things in Benin was degenerating and barely two days later a letter followed, warning of the same chaos in the Mid-West. The authorities in Lagos had enough information as to what was going on in Benin but did not like to displease Brigadier Ejoor by forcing Federal troops on him lest it be decried as Northern domination.

In the Mid-West as is well-known by now there are eight Ibo speaking senior army officers to three true Mid-Westerners. In the rank and file the ratio between true Mid-Westerners to Ibo speaking soldiers was in the neighbourhood of 2:1 but since the declaration of Emergency, Col. Nwaiwo has hatched out a clear plan for recruiting Ibo ex-servicemen and others so as to gain Ibo superiority even in the fighting section of the force. How did he do this. While some non-Ibo would-be-soldiers were frightened away with demands for bribes which they could not afford, others who 'sneaked' through always managed to fail the medical tests that were conducted by Ibo army medical officers. It is these 'former Ibo speaking Mid-Westerners' with only a token force from Enugu that now hold the rest of the Mid-West State to ransom.

From the foregoing it is clear beyond doubt that the Mid-West has been temporarily gained by Ojukwu not because of his military might or military superiority but because those that he has had to deal with have all been Godly pacifists and Neville Chamberlains. Now that the battle line has been drawn with the declaration of total war, Ojukwu's forces are, as usual, on the run.

One good thing, all the same, that has resulted from Ojukwu's occupation of the Mid-West is that, with the clash of the politics of 'no Northern troops here or there' and the military and security necessities of the moment, the scales have fallen off the eyes of Ojukwu's non-Ibo supporters in the Mid-West and the West. Ojukwu, as everybody now knows, is in Benin not for our good but for our goods.

## THE CONFUSION AMONG THE REBELS IN BENIN

By

*Felix Ani*

The appointment by Ojukwu of Major George Okonkwo as Rebel Military Administrator of the Mid-West State should leave no one in doubt as to the type of liberation the Nnewi clique had designed for the state. When Banjo staked his life and hopes by leading a detachment of the Enugu rebels into the Mid-West, he was deluded into believing that he was earmarked for great things. But by a stroke of his dictatorial pen, the Maximum Leader Ojukwu, in Enugu, has shown who is master.

If Banjo had used his head, he should have realized that he was only a tool in Ojukwu's hands. Without troops, arms or a home base, it was foolish of Banjo to believe that he could lead the Mid-West—a state with which he has no connection. One cannot but conclude that Banjo's obsessive hunger for a role in the scheme of things has made him lose contact with reality.

In view of the glaring contradictions in the proclamations and actions of Ojukwu and his henchmen, no one can doubt that the conspirators have admitted their failure. Banjo's role was, apparently, to be temporary until he could be foisted on the Western State. His place in the Mid-West would then have been taken by one of the original plotters such as Nwaiwo, Okwechime, Ochei or Nzefili. But like the cowards that they are, none of them is now prepared to take the risk of coming to the forefront. Knowing the consequences of their failure, they would rather hide behind the unknown Okonkwo. No one in Lagos is deceived by this dodge.

Ojukwu claims to have established an independent Mid-West State but it should be recalled that at no time in the history of modern Nigeria, have the Mid-West people ever demanded the secession of their state from the Federation of Nigeria. On the contrary, their accepted leaders have been strong advocates of a true and balanced Federation in which all Nigerians will be fully guaranteed equal rights.

Ojukwu claims that he is liberating the Mid-Westerners from Hausa-Fulani imperialism and yet his first act is to impose an unknown Ibo Army doctor, Major Okonkwo, on the people of the Mid-West. All thoughtful Nigerians will ask why is it that during the period of the so-called Hausa-Fulani domination we never heard of a Hausa-Fulani official, engineer, doctor, economist or politician playing a role in the affairs of the Mid-West State? For once in Nigeria's history, the attempt of the Ibos to disguise their sectional interest in the name of nationalist principles has been unmasked in all its ugly nakedness.

There are many implications in Ojukwu's antics in the Mid-West, but the most important are that:

- (i) Major Okonkwo, like a colonial governor, will take direction from Enugu;
- (ii) all substantial and significant appointments will be made at Enugu, and, knowing the Ibo inclination to nepotism, Ibo appointees will in turn fill all vacancies with their kith and kin. The few non-Ibos who might be left in key positions will surely be brushed aside by the ever-grabbing Ibos;
- (iii) as they tried to do with the South-Eastern and Rivers States, the wealth of the Mid-West State will from now be regarded by the Ibos as theirs to dispose of: the Ibos have a well-known saying, 'what is mine is mine, what is *yours* is *ours*'.

All these are borne out by the peremptory dismissal of Banjo after his usefulness to them had been exhausted. As to the use of the Mid-West, there is enough evidence of its having been turned into a forward Military base, the people themselves know how much they have lost in food, money and honour to the plundering Ibo troops of occupation.

In conclusion, one may reflect upon the fact that the Ibos both inside and outside the Mid-West have always had a desire to control that State. Thus, after the creation of the Mid-West State, the Ibos fought a bitter campaign during the civilian era to install an Ibo premier in the name of party politics. But for the spirited fight of the non-Ibo majority in the Mid-West, the State would long ago have been converted into an Ibo Colony. But with the irresistible drive of the Federal troops to Benin, and the bitter resistance of the Mid-West people, the rabble from Enugu and their treacherous collaborators will soon be mercilessly crushed. And one hopes that they will bear the impending punishment which they have ceaselessly courted with fortitude and without their customary cries of pogrom! pogrom!

## OJUKWU'S SEARCH FOR AN EXIT

By

*Mohammed Sanni*

There is mounting evidence that Ojukwu having been trapped by a combination of his political blunders and downright military incompetence, now recognizes that his days are numbered. Instead of acknowledging defeat in the face of superior military strategy and political sincerity he is running from pillar to post like a cornered rat in a vain attempt to win by telegrams and radio broadcasts what he has failed to achieve by force of arm.

As all the world knows, Ojukwu declared his still-born Republic on the ground that the Ibos of the former Eastern Region could no longer live with their fellow Nigerians. He did not quite explain why the five million non-Ibos who felt able and were determined to continue their association with Nigeria had to be bull-dozed into his so-called republic. He could not for long disguise the fact that he wanted the non-Ibos not for their good but for their surplus lands and oil wealth. Sustained opposition to his brigandage and the creation of States have seen to the failure of this move.

With the ring around Enugu rapidly being closed Ojukwu quickly shifted his ground and emphasis from so-called Biafra to 'southern solidarity'. But this slogan was rendered meaningless three months ago with the creation of twelve States in Nigeria. The spectre of Northern domination has passed into history. Ojukwu's attempt to revive it can only be seen for what it is—'naked Ibo imperialism'.

As the *Nigerian Tribune* in a recent editorial said: 'Enugu Radio has also been saying that it is their task to keep 'Southern Nigeria' one. This is a new twist, different from the 'Biafran' slogan. But we like to repeat our view that as far as the *Nigerian Tribune* is concerned there is no question of keeping Southern Nigeria one. In the unfortunate event that all efforts to keep Nigeria united fail finally, the only alternative is for each national group to become sovereign and independent. For the same forces which we would disintegrate Nigeria would ultimately break up any unholy political association of a group of its component parts'.

Politically, Ojukwu has no leg to stand on because the established facts of the Nigerian situation cannot be reconciled with either the discredited idea of Biafra or the belated slogan of 'Southern Solidarity'. There is nothing wrong or disgraceful in his changing his views about Nigeria in the light of the existing facts. His former friends and allies abroad have now recognized that the old Nigeria built on Ibo, Yoruba and Hausa domination of the rest is dead and gone forever. There is no reason why Ojukwu cannot see this. Only a blind fool will stick to a viewpoint which all the facts have proved to be wrong.

In the military sphere, Ojukwu's inability to offer his fellow rebels even one victory is becoming painfully obvious; hence, the stupid attempt to get the United Nations to stop Britain from selling arms to Nigeria. If Ojukwu, the unrecognized rebel, can have American, Italian, Czechoslovakian and other arms, it is naive in the extreme for him to think that the legitimate Government of Nigeria cannot purchase arms from Britain or any other source.

Obviously, Ojukwu knows the futility of these moves but he is only trying to boost the flagging morale of the Central Easterners by diverting their attention from his failures at home and by pinning their fate on institutions and organizations who neither recognize nor know this upstart of Nnewi.

Ojukwu's military capacity is, as well-informed people know, now exhausted. He, like a soldier, should surrender. There is nothing disgraceful or unheard of in any army surrendering to better-equipped, better-trained and better-led troops. In modern history, many nations like Germany, Japan and France with better established military traditions and a higher level of military technology as well as independent economies have had to bow to superior force.

Ojukwu cannot hope to win this war by vain appeals to Messrs U Thant of the United Nations Organization and Diallo Telli of the O.A.U. whose organizations he knows fully well do not recognize his non-existent republic. This conflict is a Nigerian affair. It is recognized by the world as such. It will therefore be settled only by Nigerians—peacefully, if Ojukwu renounces his so-called Republic of Biafra, accepts the twelve States and disappears from the scene while he can still do so, or, it will be settled by the continuation of the present military action until Ojukwu and his gang of collaborators are completely vanquished.

## THE TWO FACES OF THE UNITED STATES

By

*Mike Usenekong*

On 21st July, 1967, the accredited Representative of the United States of America in Nigeria, Mr Elbert Matthews, gave ringing assurances to General Gowon to the effect that the United States Government recognized the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Scarcely had the echoes of these assurances died down when the State Department erupted in an amazing and unprecedented repudiation of Ambassador Matthews. A spokesman of the State Department regretted the purchase of Russian military aircraft by Nigeria; that the American Government had chosen to remain neutral in the Nigerian crisis because it does not wish to introduce the arms race to Africa. The spokesman is then reported to have referred to this purchase of military aircraft from Russia as military assistance to Nigeria.

Nigerians will recall that less than a month ago the State Department announced to the world that it had turned down a Nigerian request for military assistance. When pressed by a Nigerian Government statement they admitted that Nigeria had not sought military assistance but only a licence to purchase American arms.

In their recent statement, however, the State Department still appears not to have learnt the difference between the purchase of arms and military aid. If they know the difference, then mixing up the two again on this occasion can only be interpreted as a deliberate attempt by the United States Government to obstruct the Federal Government of Nigeria and to build up excuses for their premeditated plot against the integrity of Nigeria.

Let it be restated for the benefit of the State Department that the Federal Military Government has a responsibility to all the peoples of Nigeria to maintain the territorial integrity of this country by whatever means is available to it without waiting for the pleasure of the United States of America.

It is very well-known in Nigeria that the United States Government is fully aware of the following facts:

- (i) that the large quantity of Czechoslovak rifles and machine guns seized from the rebels were paid for in United States dollars. As the Enugu rebels have no dollar reserve account, the world would like the Central Intelligence Agency of America to say how this money was obtained;
- (ii) the Americans know that the Enugu rebels have six French-made helicopters and two or more American-manufactured B-26 bombers, with which hundreds of Nigerian civilians have been killed or maimed. The State Department should tell the world why it has not protested against this example of the arms race in Africa promoted by an unrecognized regime. Does gun-running cease to be offensive when it is organized by Western Countries?
- (iii) have the Americans nothing to say about the anti-tank guns and other heavy weapons of American origin captured from the rebels? Are Nigerians seriously to believe that the vast network of the C.I.A. could not have stopped these weapons if the American Government was truly neutral in this crisis?
- (iv) Portugal is a country closely allied to the United States in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. America can therefore easily influence Portugal's military policies. Why has she turned a blind eye to the military traffic passing through Portugal to the rebel regime occupying the Eastern States of Nigeria?

America claims to see danger in Nigeria's purchase of a few defensive aircraft from countries willing to sell them to her and yet she has shown no concern in the discovery of several Communist Chinese guerillas among the rebel forces.

Let's face the truth: America's concern is not over a few Czechoslovak or Russian aircraft which are used in larger numbers in the U.A.R., the Sudan, Algeria and India. She is concerned because the Nigerian Government has refused to take America's 'no' as a final answer. The Americans and the British had hoped that by refusing to sell weapons to the Federal Military Government, whom they profess to recognize, they had succeeded in tying Nigeria's hands behind her back. They failed to realize that in Nigeria's struggle for survival as one country all available weapons must be used.

Now, the State Department talks of an arms race in Africa. Of course,

it is a common failing among all would-be patrons of African nations to see no distinction between each Africa nation and the continent of Africa. Although Nigeria belongs to the continent of Africa, she, as a sovereign nation, has her unique problems which cannot be dealt with by vague reference to Africa as a continent. In the present crisis, Nigeria is not involved in competition, military or otherwise, with any other African nation. Therefore, all talks of an arms race in Africa when discussing the situation in Nigeria betrays, at best, a confusion of thought. The absurdity of this confusion would be paralleled if the purchase of rifles and other small arms by American Negroes for their defence, would be referred to as an arms race in North America.

The most alarming feature of America's manoeuvres in Nigeria is that in their thinly disguised support for the Ibos of Nigeria, they have not shown the slightest regard or understanding for the needs and rights of the five million non-Ibos of the former Eastern Region now being ruthlessly suppressed and subjugated by Ojukwu's private army. This wanton disregard of the interest of minorities, is as we all know, a common feature of American domestic policy.

If, as is now widely discussed in well-informed circles, it is America's aim to balkanize Nigeria in order to protect the cheap oil supplies of the Rivers State for themselves and their Western allies, Nigerians would like them to know that they would first have to kill off every citizen of this country as they are now trying to do in Vietnam before their plans can succeed.

## ARMS AND DIPLOMACY IN THE NIGERIAN CRISIS

By

*Olumide Thomas*

Britain's policy of non-involvement in the Nigerian crisis has baffled many Nigerians just as much as it has angered others. The crisis seems to have placed the British at a cross-road between the ordinary obligations of the relations among friendly states and the selfish hopes of neo-colonialism. Now that the imperialistic hopes of divide and rule have failed, it appears that the British are doing an 'about turn'.

The *Times* of London, searching for a reason for this diplomatic acrobatics last Thursday carried this report: 'The Nigerian Government has been supplied with arms, including bomber and fighter aircraft by Russia and Czechoslovakia. It is believed that in these circumstances British Government restrictions on the export of arms to Nigeria, on the plea of neutrality in the war with so-called Biafra, may have been relaxed.'

The *Times* in the same report disclosed that though the British Board of Trade refused export licences for arms shipments to Nigeria about a week ago, the Board has since said it had no objections. One thing, however, which has puzzled most Nigerians is the fuss which the British Government, the British Press and Radio have made over the purchase of arms by Nigeria. Surely they must know that a sovereign state is absolutely free to purchase arms for the defence of its territorial integrity from whatever source.

Nigerians know that a so-called policy of non-intervention, as in the Spanish Civil War, can really become intervention against the legitimate authority. If the rebels have an illegal but unrestricted supply of arms from a multiplicity of sources, while the Federal Military Government cannot purchase urgently needed supplies, then it means that its hands are deliberately being tied behind its back in the face of a mad and desperate enemy.

In whatever way it is looked at, Britain's so-called policy of non-intervention is, at the very least, bound to give moral encouragement to the rebellion and could even be interpreted as support for the rebels. Had the Federal Military Government no other source of purchase of arms, such a policy could be justly interpreted as active intervention against the Federal Government.

In this situation Mr Cordle's description of his country's policy as 'a shameful and foolish diplomatic disaster' is not without justification.

Now that the Federal Military Government is reported to have purchased aircraft legitimately from the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, British news media are still engaged in an irrelevant but seemingly inspired debate over the morality of arms purchase from Britain. However, throughout this one-sided debate the British Press and Radio have lost sight of the fact that the Nigerian Government is not purchasing arms on credit but with Nigeria's hard-earned foreign exchange unlike the rebels who may already have auctioned off Shell-B.P's installations to the Rothchild's Bank in France in order to be able to purchase arms.

The masses of Nigeria fully support the Federal Military Government in this wise step of approaching other sources for the equipment necessary for the successful completion of the task at hand.

The mischievous role of the B.B.C. and other British information media, whether inspired or not, can only aggravate the feelings of Nigerians.

In the words of Mr Cordle, the Nigerian situation has exposed Britain as a 'weak, vacillatory and a poor friend in time of need.'

## THE COUNTRIES BEHIND OJUKWU'S REBELLION

By

*Patrick Obiahegbon*

The rebel clique in Enugu claim ceaselessly on their radio to be a revolutionary and progressive force for the liberation of Nigeria from the domination of so-called feudalists. Anyone who has cared to analyse this claim in the light of the actions of the rebels and their allies can see how these actions glaringly contradict the rebels' false ideological pose.

It is interesting to note that among the leading friends and close allies of the Nnewi clique is Portugal which is notorious throughout the African continent for its heinous policy of brutal suppression of African people in Angola, Mozambique and the so-called Portuguese Guinea. In his domestic policy, Ojukwu has applied the Portuguese policy of ruthless suppression of opposition. As far as he is concerned, the peoples of the Rivers and South-Eastern States are only appendages of his Ibo kingdom. In the same way that Portugal regards the African countries under its oppressive system as provinces of Portugal, so too does Ojukwu regard the Rivers and South-Eastern States as provinces of his still-born Ibo republic.

The Portuguese, of course, are assisting Ojukwu because they see in the possibility of the rebels' success and Nigeria's disintegration, a set-back for African emancipation and liberation movement. That would mean, for a very long time in the future, a serious drawback to the forces which challenge white supremacy in Africa. Thus, as far as the Portuguese are concerned, they would be able to continue their oppressive policy in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea. Ojukwu's claim to be progressive is just another Ibo propaganda mask for deceiving and cheating Nigerian citizens.

From this point of view it is also interesting to note that among the countries which Ojukwu falsely claimed recognized his still-born

Republic, Portugal, S. Rhodesia and S. Africa headed the list. Ojukwu also has other friends who operate under-cover and in the dark. Many of these friends profess to recognize the Federal Military Government as the only Government of Nigeria. But one can see their real station in the Nigerian crisis in the range of weapons captured from the rebels.

Some may think it a coincidence but there is certainly more than meets the eye in the fact that the rebels have and use American heavy armaments and strike-bombers, French helicopters, Italian machine guns, Spanish rifles and assorted Portuguese weapons with Israeli mercenaries thrown in for good measure.

Among these countries, France, United States and Italy have refused to grant export licences to enable the Federal Government to import arms from their countries. These are countries which have shown no enthusiasm for the dignity of the black man. They do not care who wins or loses in the present struggle; all they are interested in is to support the side whose policies will enable them to keep the African in perpetual bondage and help them to exploit the wealth of the African countries for their own selfish benefit. From this point of view, Ojukwu's sale of the mineral resources of the former Eastern Region for a paltry sum of £6 million is a typical example of their objective in Africa.

Ojukwu's so-called friends can clearly be seen to be neither progressive nor genuine in their intention. To them, Ojukwu is a tool who will be pampered for as long as he works for their objective. He will be abandoned and discarded as his impending doom draws nearer.

The *Financial Times* of London, for long a supporter of the rebel clique, now openly advocates that the British Government should assist Nigeria to finish the rebel clique. The handwriting on the wall is there for the Enugu clique to read.